# प्राचीन नेपाल

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**Janak Lal Sharma**

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# Nepalese Society : Liquor and Culture

– Ramesh Raj Kunwor

According to the Hindu rule of social stractification, the people of Nepal are divided into four main catagories – the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisayas and the Shudras. The first two come to the higher echelon and are supposed to perform the duties of the priests and protectors respectively. The Vaisyas are supposed to handle the trade and business affairs. The remaining group is to provide mannual services to the higher ones.

The population of Nepal is approximately fifteen million having different ethnic groups like the Brahmins,Kshatriyas, Newars,Tamangs, Gurungs, Magars, Thakalis, Rais, Limbus, Thamis, Sherpas, Satars, Dhimals, Rajbansis, Darais, Hayus, Dhangars, Manangbas, Lapas, Baragaunles, Damais, Kamis,Sarkis, Chepangs, Rautes, Musalmans, and others.

The Tibeto–Burmese speaking Mongolid people like the Sherpas, Manangbas, Lopas, Rais, Limbus, Tamangs and other Bhotiyas live in the mountainous region of North, North-East, and North–Western part of Nepal. The mid–mountain population is composed of Indo-Aryan speaking people like the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Newars, Damais, Kamis, Sarkis, Gurungs, Magars, etc. Among the indigenous ethnic groups of Tarai, the Southern part of Nepal, the Tharus, Satars, Rajbansi, Dhimals possess dominant position.

So far as the climate is concerned, there is an alpine climate at altitudes of between 8,000 and 16,000 feet. The climate of the lower part of the Himalaya 3,500 and 7,000 feet, is cool temperate to warm temperate. The altitude of Southern Nepal is approximately 1,000 to 2,500 feet above the sea level and the climate is warmer than the middle and higher parts of Nepal.

The country is constitutionally declared as Hindu State though Buddhists and Muslims have their own values but have similarity, too. The nation has followed the principle of religious tolerance.

Though the caste system has not been constitutionalised in the country, yet its nature is still in vague. Under the present context, the people of Nepal can be catagorised broadly in two groups – *Tagadhari* (Holi-Cord-Wearer) and *Matawali* (alcohol drinker). The *Matawali* groups can be classified further in two catagories based on thus caste heirarchy i. e. *Panichalne* (touchable or water acceptable) and *Paninachalne* (untouchable or water un–acceptable). The *tagadhari* (generally orthodox)

groups do not take food at the kitchen-hearth of the lower caste groups (*panichalne* and *paninachalne*) of Nepal. So far as the culture of the people is concerned, one never hated the other culture. As a result of this, every ethnic culture is existing independently.

Generally the orthodox Brahmins and Kshatriyas are recognized as *Tagadhari* group as well as non-alcoholic drinkers of the country. Alcohol is strictly tabooed in their community. There are some Kshatriyas called 'Matawali Chhetris' who have settled in the Karnali region of far western Nepal, are permitted to take liquor by their culture.[1] Those ethnic groups, who drink liquor and brew at their own home by applying, their traditional technological method of distillation, fermentation and filtration are called Matawali groups of Nepal. But in general term, a matawali is he who is traditionally recognised as habituated alcoholic intoxicant of the society. In one side the Orthodox Brahmins and Kshatriyas take it as a profane act, but, in other side, the matawali groups have taken it as an integral part of their culture.

So far as the man, liquor and culture is concerned, firstly the 'Man' can be defined as a reasoning/religious/social/speaking and talking animal who creates pleasure and suppresses pain for the mind that is inseparable from his body. Man was created to be happy and home brew was undoubtedly part of the plan.[2] Home brewed liquor can be used as 'alcohol' or alcoholic beverages, any of various potables, including beer, distilled liquor, consisting of a solution that contains alcohol (usually ethyl alcohol, called grain alcohol), an intoxicating substance resulting from yeast fermentation of sugar or starchy materials. Anyway, the liquor, which is made at home by traditional, is call homebrewed liquor. But, the word 'alcohol' 'drink' or 'liquor' is also used in terms of 'home brewed liquor' in same paragraphs of this article. Society is composed of men and the way which they behave is their culture – the whole social tradition.

In some languages, as in English, the very term 'drink' takes on the connotation of drinking alcoholic liquor.[3] Thomas Trotter was the first man who presented the thesis on drunkenness for the degree of doctor of medicine at Edinburgh University in 1778 A.D.[4] Now-a-days it is studied by ale-specialists, Chemists,Psychiatrists, Psychologists, Sociologists and Anthropologists.

A lot of work have been done by different anthropologists and sociologists in different aspect of ethnic groups of Nepal. But no ale-anthropological research work is done intensively on this particular aspect of the Nepalese society.

Anthropology 'The Science of Man'– is concerned with every behavioural aspect of human groups. Regarding to the different aspect of human groups, ale-anthropology is that discipline, which studies on man, alcohol and culture. I, therefore, determined to study on homebrewed liquor and its social, cultural and religious function towards the man's social system in the ethnic cultural context of Nepal under social anthropology.

The study is done in the Thakalis and Gurungs of Naundada and Ghandrung area of Kaski District, the Sherpa and the Tamang community of Solukhumbu district, Rolwaling and hilly region of Dolakha district, some villages of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley, and some ale-houses of proper Kathmandu City. Rest of that, some information is taken from different individuals belonging to the different ethnic communities. The information is collected from participant and non-partici-

pant observations and unstructured interviews supported with some photographs. The synchronic study is supported by diachronic also.

I hope, this framework on home brewed liquor among the Matawali groups comprises various ethnic groups of Nepal, would certainly be helpful for the planning makers, administrators social workers and social thinkers or social scientists to understand in a better manner, the importance of 'liquor' under the shade of their cultural pattern.

The difficulty is that once a man starts drinking he becomes addicted to it and goes on increasing its quantity, which has a very harmful effect both on the individual as well as the society.[5] That is why, from the view point of health, it is rejected by many people in the world. Though the liquor has become a crutch for millions of persons and an indispensable necessity for hundreds of thousands of others.[6] These characteristics have made alcohol controversial from ancient times. Religious leaders and heads of states have either banned it or permitted its use. The Roman Catholic or the Protestant Church does not object to a man drinking alcohol, yet he is permitted to have one wife only ! Islam, on the other hand, very wisely prohibits alcohol but compensates men by permitting four wives.[7]

Thus drinking in a particular society may be either a sacred or a profane act, depending on the context, and the people may not be aware of the basic principles and meanings that are actually involved.[8] Hence it is useful to ask what the form and meanings of drink in a particular group tell us about their entire culture and society.[9] In connection with this matter, for example, among the Kofyar of Nothern Nigeria, "People make, drink, talk and think about beer." In the religious sphere, the Kofyar certainly believe that man's way to god is with beer in hand."[10] This is what Mandelbaum has taken it as cultural artifact : the form and meanings of drinking alcoholic beverages are culturally defined, as are the uses of any other major artifact.[11]

So far as its uses is concerned, those who favour of the use of alcohol generally advocate (a) moderate use of alcohol with meals does not interfere with health or length of life, (b) its medicinal effect, and (c) use in moderate dose is not intoxication. While its opponents point out that (a) morbidity rate of drinkers is higher than that of non-drinkers, (b) its medicinal effect is not so important, while it is a habit forming drug which is both depressant and narcotic in its effects upon the human organism, and (c) even its moderate use causes intoxication. Some truths appears to be on both sides.[12] Anyway it may be tabooed : it is not ignored.

As regards alcoholic intoxicants cultures are of three kinds; those using fermented liquors,those using both fermented and distilled liquors, and those getting along without any.[13] Levi-strauss writes, "there are, finally, certain incompatibilities which are consciously maintained by the social group and which possess a normative value : hot food/cold food; milky drink/alcoholic drink; fresh fruit/fermented fruit, etc."[14]

## Liquor in Ancient Period

The ancient civilization itself the people were very much familiar with 'drink'. The alcoholic fermentation of grain to produce beer as has been practised for thousands of years in many centuries. The earliest records of brewing coming from Egypt where a drink called "*hequ*" or "*hequp*" was brewed.[15] Regarding to its date this goes back in Egypt and Mesopotamia, at least, five thousand years quite likely six thousand.[16] Actually the history

of brewing goes back 10,000 years to ancient Egypt almost to the beginning of agriculture. The art of brewing was known to the ancient Greece and had established itself 2,000 years ago in Britain, for it was discovered and appreciated by the Roman invadors in 54 B. C.[17] It was more common in the northern countries of Europe where corn will grow but not the vine. In these countries it was usual drink with meals for many centuries before the introduction of tea or coffee.[18]

## Liquor in Hindu Civilization

Its origin might be questioned in Hindu civilization. If we trace back to the Vedic civilization (C. second millenium B. C.), there were two kinds of drinks called *Soma* and *Sura*. *Soma* was used to offer to the gods and goddess whereas the *Sura* was a secular drink.[19] It shows that even Vedic people also were not unfamiliar with home brewed liquor. Among the ancient Iranious, an intoxicating drink called *Haoma*. (in the Aucsta) was very likely the same thing as *Soma*.[20]

In epic period, people used to take it as food for recreation, for example, the sage Bharaduaja offered it to Bharat and his soldiers. It is also written that Rama "embracing Sita with both his hands made her drink pure Maireya wine even as Indra makes sachi drink nectar.[21] According to Balmiki Ramayana (Uttarkhanda, Sarga–42, slok 19–20), so many Apsaras, Nag–Kanyas, Kinnaris, and other beautiful ladies were intoxicated by drinking alcohol and showed their dance to Ramachandra.[22] The Mahabharat mentions how Baladev, Krishna, and Arjuna induldged in drink in the company of their wives, sisters, and daughters and how queen like, Sudeshna used to quench their thirst wine.[23] The above mentioned texts show that the drink was taken as an important recreational food particularly in the higher classess of the latter Vedic society.

According to the Kautilya's Arthasastra (4th C. B. C.), it is known that the people of Mauryan period consumed it very much. He has mentioned in his book about various kinds of drinks.[24] Some of which are *medaka* (beer made from rice), *asava* (wood apple wine), *maireya* (a kind of liquor made from raw sugar, pepper, and the bark of the meshasringa tree), and *sahakarsura* (mango spirit).[25]

In ancient Europe and in Vedic period, there was no beer made from rice. At that time corn was popular in European countries and barley and wheat was popular in Vedic society. Since the time of Kautilya, among the home brewed liquors, rice beer gained more popularity in the middle classess of the society. One of the most important drink (wine) was *maireya* which was used only by noble families. But, coming to the Mauryan period, even foreign drinks were also imported at the court of the Mauryan Empire. It comes to our notice from the history of king Bindusara, the son of Ashoka.

In the Gupta age(circa 3rd to 7th C.A.D.) ladies of the rich families were specially charmed with drinks and taking from the mouth of the husband was a fashion.[26] Vayu and Matsya Puranas and the Ajanta Paintings also confirm the luxury of taking wine by the ladies.[27] Brhaspati however advised ladies to avoid drinking of their husbands were away.[28] Manu also has given ample opportunity to drink alcohol only for Shudras.[29]

## Liquor in Tibet and China

In the early period, home brewed liquor was unknown to the Tibetan people. According to Bell, a Chinese princess, who got

married with a Tibetan king in seventh century A. D., brought local beer with her to Tibet as a part of her dowry and so it was taken as a means to show hospitality. [1]This shows that the Chinese were acquinted with liquor before the Tibetans. Anthropologist Paul gives a somewhat different opinion about the source of its origin to Tibet. According to him, beer was first used by Guru Padmasambhava in Tibet. After him, the Tibetan made it their practice to use it as an offering to Guru Padmasambhava.[31] There is another legend among the Sherpas of Solukhumbu that the Tibetans were once engaged in building the Sammya monastery but as they were unable to complete it, they were being harasshed. Padmasambhava, at that time, saved them from harasshment by sprinkling drops of beer towards the incomplete monastery as an offering and gave the people to drink beer as offering (prasad). Then only, the people of Tibet were able to complete the building. From then onwards the Tibetan and the other Tibetan type of Himalayan people drink beer as a blessing of the Padmasambhava.[32]

## Liquor in Ancient Nepal

In regard to the Nepalese context, Jha has tried to show the common practice of wine drinking habit in ancient Nepal. In order to prove it he has taken the word 'paniyagosthi' from Lele inscription of Shivadev I and Amsuvarma dated 526 and the word 'karanapuja' from Pashupati inscription of Jayalambha dated 413 and Patan Gairidhara inscription of Narendradev dated 83. According to him, the word 'paniyagosthi' probably speak of the organizations which arranged for wine drinking at least on ceremonious occasions.[33] Besides this he has written that very cold climate of the country would have necessitated the people to take wine with which the Lichhavis and the Guptas were closely associated even before their migration to Nepal and which has great consumption specially in the valley even now-a-days.[34] Regmi, Vajracharya and others are not of this opinion. The word 'paniyagosthi' means a kind of organization which provided either drinking water for the travellers or for irrigation.[35] So far as the word 'karanapuja' is concerned, Vajracharya says that the meaning of this word is 'naimittikpuja'[35], which does not indicate the sense of wine worship rather it should be occasional worship for festive occasions. The opinion which is opened by different scholars, does not reflect whether the people of ancient Nepal were known or completely unknown to technique of distillation, fermentation and filtration. The sources of ancient history mention that the Kiratas, Shakyas, Koliyas, Lichhavis, Mallas, Ahirs, Abhir Guptas, Pundris were the main inhabitants of Nepal. Due to the commercial trade, some people were related with Tibet and some of them were related with India. At that time the drinking pattern was already flourished in China, Tibet and India. Then how Nepalese people could remain without it in such a climatic zone ? Rather, it can be said, due to the influences of Smritikaras, some groups may not have used it.

## Liquor in Medieval period

Father Ippolito Desideri a medieval traveller through Nepal, gives some information about the drinks. He mentions about the Nepalese context that people drink with water a pungent liquor made from certain millet which grows in this country and is one of the staple foods of the poor people.[37] A kind of beer is also made from wheat or rice and a drink called *arac* is distilled from raw sugar.[38] In this context Regmi has also described a kind of liquor which was used by the people of Medieval Nepal. According to him the fermented drink was known as *thon*, while the distilled variety was called *yela*. It might be the same

drink *arac* mentioned by Desideri and was used in Northern part of Nepal and Tibet. Vajracharya says that the word *thon* (Newari term of beer) is clearly mentioned in Gopal Raj Vamsavali.[39] Anyway, since early medieval period it is gaining more popularity in the various ethnic society, considering as social food and religious offering.

## Liquor in Modern Period

In the modern Rana period, Mulki Ain of 1854 divided the Nepalese caste groups into five catagories as follows:

(i) Tagadhari (wearers of holi-cord).

(ii) Namasinya matawali (non-enslavable alcohol drinkers).

(iii) Masinya matawali (enslavable alcohol drinkers)

(iv) Paninachalnya choichitohalnu naparnya (impure but touchable castes).

(v) Paninachalnya choichitohalnu parnya (impure and untouchable castes).

The above mentioned first three heirarchical caste groups are recognised as pure castes (Chokho jat) or 'Water acceptable' and rest of the two different groups are recognized as impure castes or 'Water unacceptable castes'[40] Later on Rana Prime Minister Sri 3 Maharaj Chandra Shumsher (1901-1929 A. D.) abolished the term 'masinya' and 'namasinya' of Mulki Ain of 1854. Anyway, since that time people started considering the alcoholic people as a lower group of the society. Besides it, those who used to drink liquor, automatically would have lost their social prestige also. This sort of assumption has rooted till now in the Brahmin's and Kshatriya's society generally in the rural areas of this country.

## Alcoholic Phases of Nepalese Society

The concept of 'matawali and non-matawali' considering the intoxicating (liquor intaking) natue of different ethinic groups of Nepali society, in the past, seems to be vague under the present context of the society. Because the people of all the ethnic groups, belonged to either matawali or non-matawali groups, are facing tremendous changes in the socio-economic, religious and cultural spheres of their life pattern. As well as, the introduction of some new type of intoxicating liquors to the people are affecting differently to the different ethnic groups; which also creates a confusion in having a clear cut idea of the 'matawali and non-matawali' concept under the present context of the society.

The mobility of a considerable number of people of each ethnic group, irrespective to its belonging to matawali and non-matawali towards the consumption of modern liquors from traditional liquor (homebrewed liquor) as well as so-called non-matawali to matawali group is also equally responsible to create the problems for the social thinkers to understand the social structure of the Nepali society according to the liquor intaking habits and its effect on the society.

So a new concept of matawali and non-matawali is an urgent need of time. Instead of considering the ethnic groups/ castes to define the concept of matawalis and non-matawalis it seems to be more appropriate to classify those people according to their economic standard and social status as well as willingness towards their rites and rituals. Furthermore, the type of drinking, which also reflects the socio-economic, religions and cultural position, required a consideration for the classification of those people who use to take liquor.

At present the people of existing Nepali society consume three types of liquor prepared by three different techniques. One is traditional liquors which are brewed at home, and have socio-cultural and religious importance, and commonly known as *jand* and *rakshi* or *madira* in Nepali language. While second type of drinks manufactured at local Distilleries by applying modern technologies which are known as Egrand Earl, Khukri Rum, Ruslan Vodka, Snowland Gin, Three Lions Whisky, Sree Special and Eagle and Star Beer, and the third types of drinks include Scotch Whisky, Brandy, Sherry, Liquor, Gin, Vodka, White Wine, Red Wine, Champagne and Beer, imported and have no socio-cultural and religious value.

Considering the importance of brewed liquors in socio-economic, cultural and religions spheres of the life of the Nepali people and the main objective of the study the Nepali society can be divided into three phases– Core, Marginal and Fringe.

The core group comprises the people who are religiously orthodox, economically weak, socially depressed and have low level of aspiration, almost zero degree of literacy and consume the home brewed liquor. They are commonly known as matawali groups and can be placed in the core of the Nepali society.

The marginal phase of the both Nepali society represents by the people (matawali and non-matawali) who are comparatively less orthodox, economically well-being, socially acceptable and have better level of aspiration and rate of literacy, consume the second type of liquors manufactured by Nepali distilleries.

Those people (generally non-matawali), who are at the top level of economic ladder, religiously liberal, possess high social status, high level of aspiration, easily influenced by Westernisation and Modernisation, delineate the fringe phase of the society.

So the group who represents the core phase of the society can be termed as 'traditional drinkers' while,those who represents marginal phase can be termed as 'situational drinkers' and finally, representators of fringe phase may be called as 'recreational drinkers.'

## Taboo

Alcohol is tabooed in the Brahmins and Kshatriya's society. Manu has allowed to drink wine only for Shudras. The wine which is distilled from sugar, from the blossoms of the Madhuka, or from flour, these three kinds of spirituous liquor have to be discerned; as one or so are all none of them must be tasted by the twice born.[41] Again, distilled from the blossoms of the Madhuka tree, from malasses, from the fruits of the Tanka tree, of the jujube tree, of the date tree, of the bread fruit tree, from wine grapes, from Madhuka blossoms, Maireya and the sap of the coconut tree: these ten intoxicating drinks are unclean for a Brahamins.[42] Thus the Brahmins as a rule are expected not to drink wine. The drinking of spirituous liquor is condemned by Chandogyan Upanishad. But sometimes, people, unknowingly, drink alcohol, are not recognised as sinner. The Mahabharat (Shantiparva, 34) however mentions some exceptions to the above general rule. "One who has drink spirituous liquor unknowingly or for the sake of saving his life from serious illness under the advice of a physician can get rid of his sin by some purificatory ceremony."[43] It is possible that liquor was supposed to have an invigorating effect, this is further confirmed, by the fact that other two Varnas, the Brahmins and Vaisyas, both of whom are associated with more mental and less

physical work strictly abstain from liquor as a cultural ideal.[44] The anathemas with regard to drinking affected the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas but slightly as many kinds of drink were allowed to them and they too did not fail to indulge in them.[45] Although the Kshatriya is a high or twice-born Varna and the Shudra, a lowest, both are associated with physical excertion. Anyway, people of ancient Hindu society, had followed certain rules and regulations in cultural context as such. Besides that, it also can be known that certain facilities were given to the people respectively. It is written even in the Buddhist Texts like Tundila and Padapusalamanava Jatakas. As it is mentioned there drinking is indulged especially as festive occasions. Such as the Matanga and Dhammadhoja Jatakas also mention about the occasional excessive drinking habit of the kings.[46]

As time past by, people of the higher group dominated to the lower group and also made a strict social rules and regulations. In connections with this matter feeling of caste defilement or 'defilement by touch' has deeply rooted in the society. In Nepal, this sort of system was practised up to the time of Rana period (1846–1951 A. D.). Then the Mulki Ain of 1963 (2020 B. S.) avoided this sort of rule of the society.

So far as the liquor and *Jutho* (eating or drinking repeatedly from the same pot by different people) is concerned, different communities have different system of it. In Brahmin's and Kshatriya's society *jutho* is regarded as impure element of the Hindu little tradition. In their family, a husband is not permitted to take *jutho* from his wife. But there is no restriction for wife to take *jutho* from husband. In the Sherpa community, it has played an unique role for their clan recognition. The system of drinking by sharing from the same cup relatively indicates that they belong to the same status socially endogamous groups or *khadiku* in their term. Some of them prefer to call it as *phuromilne* ( *juthomilne* ). According to the Neware, *jutho* drink makes intoxication. Now-a-days there is no feeling of *jutho* in the young circle at all. If they have close friendship with each other do not hesitate to share the same cup from each other at the same time.

Anyway those Brahmins or Kshatriyas who drink too much, are negatively called as *jandyana* by their neighbours. Though it is pervading day by day and use to take it either openly or secretely. That is why the matter of taboo is gradually desolating in the young Brahmin and Kshatriya boy's circle of the society.

## Various types of Home Brew

There are mainly three varieties of local fermented and distilled drinks like *jand, rakshi* and *tongba*. These three kinds of drinks are purely brewed at home and used in different ethnic communities. The name of fermented local beer and distilled local wine is culturally and linguistically different from one ethnic community to another. The local beer which is known as *Chhyang* among the Sherpas, *nurya* among the Tamangs, Sherpas and Thamis of Bigu, Simigaon and Rolwaling area of Dholakha district, *ji* among the Tamangs of Nuwakot-Rasuwa and Timalpur area, *thon* among the Newars, *phee* among the Thakalis, *jand* among the Kiratis, *toyangpa* among the Gurungs, *baski* or *muna* among the Majhis, and *janra* among the Tharus. Likewise, the distilled drink *rakshi* is known as *arac* among the Sherpas, Tamangs, Manangis, Lopas and other Tibetan type of Himalayan people, *Kilop* among Thakalis, *pa* among Gurungs, *aila* among Newars and *madh* among the Tharus. *Daru* is common word for *jand* and *rakshi* in Southern

Nepalese societies. The *tongba* type of drink is more popular in Limbu society of Eastern Nepal. Bista has written in the context of *tongba* that every man has a large wooden mug which is filled on occasion with thick millet beer and drink through a bamboo tube.[47]

*Chhyang* a sweet, thick and potent liquid is frequently brewed from wheat,barley, maize.[48] *Thon*, at once, cannot be said that it is sweet, thick, fine and potent liquid beer. The Newars have various way of techniques of brewing the *thon* and they have given different names to it. *Thon* is brewed from rice is called *ti thon*, *Kahani thon* from maize and *Chhongu thon* from wheat. *Ti thon* is generally brewed on the cecasion of festivals and other ceremonies. Anyway,it is common among the Newars. Most of the Newars do not prefer *Chhongu thon* and *kahani thon*. According to them, *kahani thon* is a sweet drink but it may spoil very soon. Then its taste also changes to bitterness. So the Newars do not want to brew it from maize. It is only brewed in Kirtipur in the month of March–April. At that time people shall be working in the field. According to the Newars of Kirtipur, this type of beer gives them refreshment, likewise, *chongu thon* or *chhoyu thon* also is not brewed in so many villages of the Newars. In their opinion this type of beer causes headache.If they feel headache,then,they will not be able to work in the field. Very few Newar farmers use to take it only on the occasion of the transplantation and harvesting season.

On average 115 kg. hulledrice per year is used to brew liquor in each Newar family while, among Sherpas of Solu (110 kg.),Khumbu (160 kg.), Bigu (140 kg.). Simigaon (140 kg,), Rolwaling (160 kg.) usually wheat or millet and sometime rice or maize is used. The Tamangs on average 80 kg. grain a year use to brew the beer. But as well as people of Tharu community are concerned the quantity of grain (about 400 kg.) is considerably more.

So far as the Newar beer is concerned, Gajurel and Vaidhya has devided it into four catagories : white *jand*, red *jand* (*hyaun thon*), *kata thon* and *bhyavar thon*.[49] White jand, which is mentioned by Gajurel, is generally known as *ti thon*. It seems white, thin, fine and potent. The Jyapoos of Urban area make beer which is known as *pya thon*. It is thick, heavy, not fine, untasty, strong and brown in colour. The beer brewed by the Newars of Kirtipur is called *kat thon* and *bhya thon* is popular among the Newars of Bhaktapur.

In the first fraction, the liquid which comes out from the grain, is known as *moti thon* or *ningu thon* among the Newars and *ningar* among the Sherpas. The Newars use to brew the next type of beer which is known as *hyaun thon*. But, now-a-days most of the Newars do not brew it due to the scarcity of *hakuwa* rice (rice which has been covered with earth kept hot for some days, and then threshed.)

According to their belief, their will be no lightening or thundering, if they could keep even a single drop of *hyaun thon* at their home. Even it is offered to the gods and goddesses. Most of the rural Newars use to keep it at their home for their preventive cure. *Hyaun thon*, a tasty, red and stronger is taken out of the first fraction as *moti thon*.

*Pya thon*, the next type of Newar beer, is only served to the workers at the time of transplantation and harvesting season. To prepare this beer grain, beaten rice and *Chhokmana* (yeast made fromwheat) are mixed in a fixed proportion of 2:1:1.

## Brewing of beer

Different communities have different type of techniques of distillation, fermentation and filtration for the preparation of local wine and beer. Though the grains may be same but the method of fraction and the stuff also differs

among different communities. Even the quality of the wine and beer is also different from one place to another and one community to another. Various methods are adopted by different communities in different places to check the taste of the prepared liquor, for instance: by smelling, drinking or pouring, etc.

So far as the brewing method is concerned, in order to prepare *moti thon*, approximately 6 litres of water is poured to the 7 kg. boiled rice from which they get nearly 3 litres of *moti thon* usually after a week. *Maghe thon* is quite popular in Tokha village, four miles north of the Kathmandu city. This is brewed in the month of January. It is more intoxicating than *ti thon*. According to them, one *batka* (peg) of *maghe thon* is equal to four *batka* of *ti ton*. *Ti thon* is their common beer which is served to the guests, own family members and it is made for ceremonial purposes also. It is quite thin, white, tasty and not so much strong. But *maghe thon* seems brown, thick, strong and potent. According to their belief, in the month of January and February, the beer becomes more tasty, strong and do not spoil early because water seems to be more pure or sacred in these months. On the full moon day of *Magh* (Jan-Feb), pure or sacred water is distributed to the each household of the village in Tokha to prepare the *maghe thon*, which is rarely practised in other villages of the Newars. (Plate No. 1 A)

In the first process of brewing the liquor, the grain is wet for four hours. This is known as *Jakiphoyagu*. Four hours after it. the grain is kept in *potasi* (big earthen pot, ghyampo in Nepali, which has many holes on the bottom and the top portion is opened). Under the *potasi*, there is kept one *phosi* (a big copper-vessel) full of hot water to boil the grain. When it is supposed that grain has partly boiled usually after two hours it is taken out from the hearth and then the grain is taken out from the big earthen pot. At the same time the grain is washed from water and again the same process is followed. When it is suppose that the grain has completely boiled then it is dried on the *mala* (mat). It takes about one hour to cool down. Then after a small piece of *hyangba* (burning charcoal) and *malta* (chilly) is kept over the grain to protect it from the evil sight of the strangers. They call it 'mikha waneyagu'. It is a popular belief not only among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley but also among the Sherpas of Solukhumhu and the Rai-Limbus of the Eastern Nepal. So far as the burning charcoal is concerned, Gajurel and Vaidhya has written that the charcoal has a chemical energy and it can absorb the gas cleaning the grain.[50] Anyway, after keeping charcoal and chilly, yeast is also mixed with grain. If the beer is going to be prepared from 4.kg. of grain, a piece of 50gms. yeast, which costs about 50 pice, is mixed with the grain. After mixing the yeast, the grain is kept into the top floor of the house for fermentation. Its duration is six to eight days, then after a peculiar smell comes out of the grain. After eight days, the grain is put into a *tyapa* (big earthen pot) and the *tyapa* is covered either by banana leaves or leaves of *sal* tree.

Again the mouth of the *tyapa* is sealed up either by dry hay or some clothes to make it air-tight. This process is called *pokatinegu*. Then, the grain is called *haja* in the Newar community, *Ium* among the Sherpas and *mapp* among the Tamangs. Then after four or five days water is poured in it. This process is called *la tayagu*. After six hours of *la tayagu* the liquid changes into beer which is called *thon moyagu*. In order to filter it *ba*: (a cane basket) is put inside the *tyapa* and the liquid is taken out of the grain by aluminium bowl.

If the beer is made from millet, wheat

or maize, the process of brewing is, to some extent, different from above mentioned process. The wheat, millet and maize, is not wet and just stewed in *potasi*. Then after, the same process is followed up. In the last stage the grain like *haja* is taken out and it is rubbed either by one hand or churned by stick. Then it is kept for six hours for separation of liquid from solid. The Newars of Kirtipur make a kind of beer which is called *kata thon*. The process of brewing of liquor, firstly it is dried on the fourth day of a fort night, according to Hindu Lunar Calender, of August. It goes on till eight days. This process is called *manasui*. When the grain seems dry, it is grinded and then it is boiled on. When the whole grain is completely boiled, it is taken out from the hearth. After that the grain should be completely cool. According to them, if the grain is slightly hot, its taste becomes sour. Some portion of chilly is already kept in the previous process. After cooling the grain, some portion of yeast and *hakuwaye baji* (beaten rice from hakuwa rice) is added to the grain. This is the process of brewing *kata thon*.

In the first fraction, the liquid which is taken out from the pot, is called *moti thon*, in the second fraction, the liquid which is taken out from the pot is called *ba:ta thon*. After taking *ba:ta thon* from three to four times, there remains juiceless solid. The last stage of grain changes into pure solid non-juicy part, called *kat* or only *ka*. Most of the Newars, except Salmis, do not want to use it. Generally it is given to the cattles. But the Salmis make a special variety of food along with bone marrow of buffalo, which they call it *kakwa*. So far as the *bhyavar* type of beer is concerned, it is recognised as one of the lowest quality of the drinks. Generally the liquor. which is not filtered from solid, is called *bhyavar thon*. The water is poured into the grain and all the grain is churned by churning-stick. Then the stuff changes into thick liquor i.e. *bhyavar*. It is generally served to the workers of the field.

In the Newar community the pot, where the filtered beer is put inside it, is called *soma*. Shanti Surav has opined that the word *soma* is related with Vedic *soma* (drink).[51] How he related this word with Vedic *soma* cannot be said anything about this opinion. They have another type of ritual pot which is called *anti*, in which the distilled local wine is put. Their traditional drinking pot is called *salincha*. Generally local wine is drink from *salincha* whereas the local beer is drink from *batka*. *Salincha* is made of terracatta whereas the *batka* is made of aluminium. The Sherpas use to call it *kai*, which is made of wood and now-a-days they drink from bowl also. But that is also said *kai* in their language *dabaka* among the Rais, and *badha* among the Tamangs.

So far as the Sherpa brewing method is concerned, they make beer and wine from wheat, barley, millet and rice. In order to brew *chhyang* in the first stage, the grain is kept in a *fungsir* (copper vessel, *phosi* in Newari term) during boiling it they do not like any visitors because, according to their belief, an evil sight might contaminate the whole thing. After boiling, the grain is spread over a *sorang* (granary made of malingo; a kind of cane) to dry it. A small piece of the yeast is mixed with the grain at the stage and a piece of *metak* (burning charcoal) is also kept. Some Sherpas use *marchi-simu* (Chilly flower) instead of *metak*. If it is not done, they fear that evil-sight might spoil even before maturing. So secrecy is maintained to keep it unspoiled. After drying the grain it is put into a *rongzyung* (a basket

made of bamboo, *thunse* in Nepali) and is covered with *bulu* (rhododendron sprigs). The whole thing is covered with *Chhera* (cloth made of core-hair) for fermentation and is kept for three to four days till a peculiar smell comes from the grain. It is called the *lum*. When the grain changes into *lum*, it is kept in a *dom* on *dojyung* (a kind of wooden vat) and the mouth is sealed to make it air-tight. It is then pressed with a grinding stone. This is done to keep the *lum* from spailing. In this way the *lum* can be kept for about six to seven months. During this time the *lum* becomes quite strong. This is the last stage in brewing the *chhyang*. After this *lum* is put in a *chhapani* (a cane basket) which, in turn, is kept in a sotum, and the *lum* is then rubbed from warm-water between palms. The liquid which carry out is known as *Chhyang*. Similarly, *ningar* is brewed. This is the name for better quality *chhyang* and is used in connection with certain ceremonial like wedding. It is thinner liquid and seems different in colour from *Chhyang*. Thus the Sherpas brew liquor applying by their own traditional technology.

*Hurya*, a kind of beer, is used in North hilly region of Dolakha District of East Nepal. It is used by the Sherpas, Thamis, Tamangs and others of Bigu to Rolwaling area. It is made from maize, millet, and sometimes wheat also. It is too thick, brown, tasty heavy, and not enough strong. Firstly, the flour is parched in *handi* at hearth and it is boiled for some minutes. When it is boiled, then the boiled flour is spread out of the hearth. After that some portion of yeast is mixed with it. After two days it is put in big terracotta pot. After fermentation of the boiled flour, people start drinking. (Plate No. 1 B)

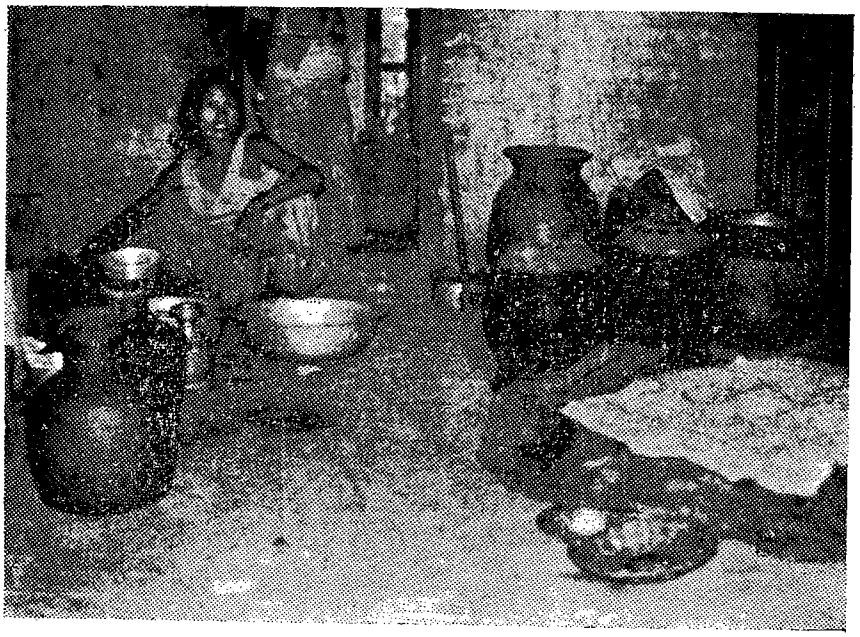
## Yeast Manufacturing Tradition

Yeast is used for fermentation of the grain. It is an indispensable element for the preparation of wine and beer. As people came to know the technique of distillation, fermentation and filtration so yeast was also manufactured bv them. It can by taken as one of the material cultures of the matawali societies of Nepal. "The products of man's technical knowledge are frequently called artifacts of material culture."[52]

People understand the environment and exploit the nature for their survival. By knowing it, they manufacture yeast by applying their own traditional technology not only for the purpose of fermentation but to develop alternative sources of income. One manufactures yeast and other make beer.

The yeast is known as *marcha* in Nepali, *mana* or *manapu* among the Newars, *Phapp* among the Sherpas and *brama* among the Tamangs. There are two different kinds of *mana* in the Newar community. One type of *mana* is made from rice which is known as *kimana* and the second type of *mana*, made of wheat is known as *Chhomana* or *Chhongumana*. In some parts of the Eastern hilly region, it is made from millet four. In order to prepare the yeast, a kind of plant in necessited. The plant is called *mana-wasa* among the Newars of Lunvu, [redacted], *ranhabing* among the Tamangs, and *khenba* among the Sherpas of Solukhumbu. (Pl. No. 2 A)

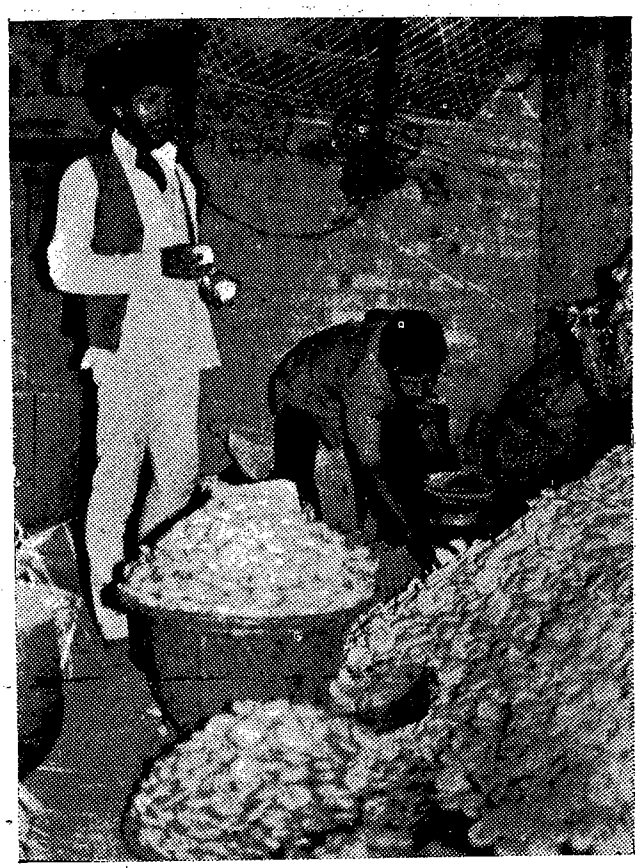
The technique of preparation of Yeast was studied in Lunvu, a Newar village four miles East of Patan. The Rajthala, one of the Newar groups, make it and sell in and around of the Kathmandu Valley. Their main occupation is yeast manufacturing. According to them, firstly the yeast plant is dried and then dust of leaf is prepared, After that the rice is wet till two hours. When it is wet, then the rice is grinded at water-mill. After doing this, some portion of old piece of yeast



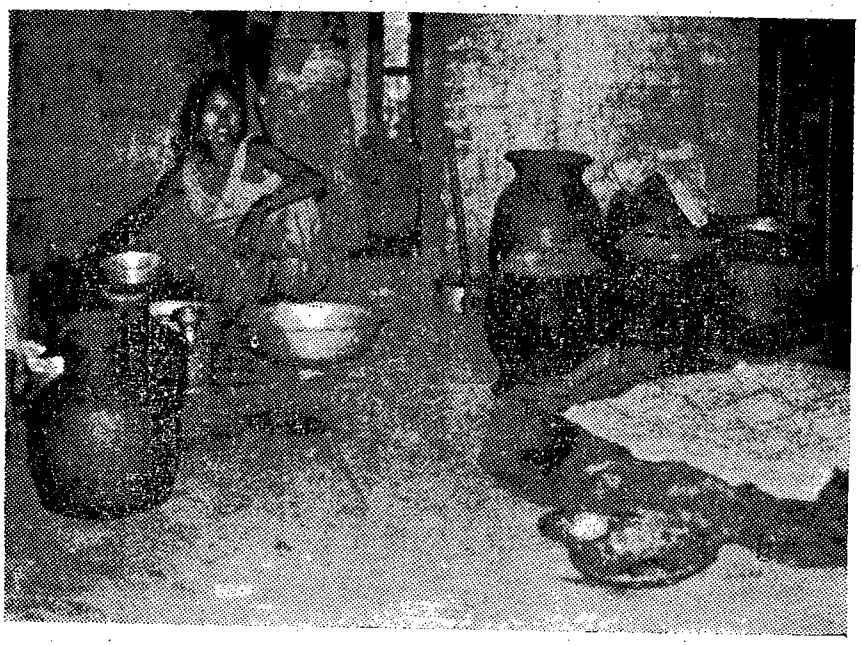
(*A*) *The Newar liquor brewing materials*

(*B*) *A Tamang woman is filtering Hurye*

*(A) A Yeast-plant*



*(B) Yeast pile in Lumva village*



*(A) The Newar liquor brewing materials*

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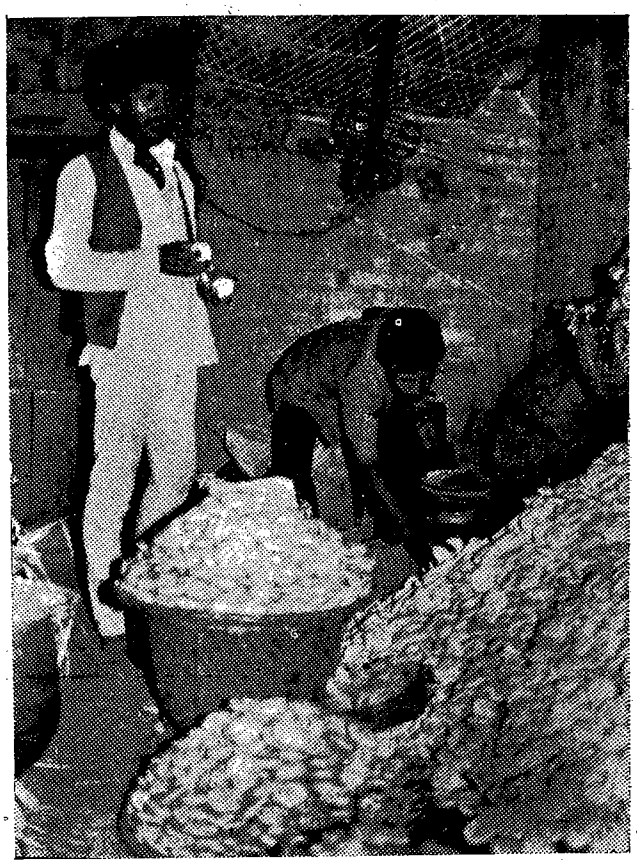


*(B) Yeast pile in Lunvu village*

ande yeast plant dust mixed with floured rice and finally it is dried in sunrays, This is the process of *kimana* preparation. (Pl. No. 2 B.)

*Chhomana* is made from wheat and yeast plant. It is generally used for the brewing of *kata thon* and somewhere it is used for wine distillation. Most of the people use *kimana* for fermentation of wine or beer. Obviously, because the main crop among these people is rice not wheat. In summer season a less quantity of yeast is required for fermentation while, in winter season a little bit more yeast is mixed with grain.

## The Role of Liquor in Society

People take it not only for intoxication but to perform sacramental rites and rituals –it is a must. So, their cultural as well as natural surroundings provide them ample opportunities to consume it. Which keeps them warmth provides energy and helps them to maintain social relation and their cultural heritage.

In the Sherpa community it plays a vital role during the settlement and other stages of marriage ceremony. It plays different role on different occasions and have diffcrent terminology. For instance, if some one is supposed to get arranged marriage groom's parents send a bottle of beer to the girl's parents which is considered as a token of marriage proposal. If the girl's father consents to the proposal, he drinks the *chhyang* brought by the boy's relatives. This is called *sodane* or *tizyang* means 'question beer'. The word *chhyang* or *jyang* is generally used by Sherpas for this fermented liquor although *jyang* or *Zying* has become vulgar. Like in the first process of marriage, *chhyang* is sent to the girl's house to fix the date for the wedding.

On this occasion people from both party drink and talk about the wedding day. This is called *pejyang*. When the wedding procession is about to leave for the bride's house, at that time too beer is given to the groom as a omen. This is known as *chhejyang*. When the procession reach at the bride's house, firstly the beer is served them as a omen to which they call it *surjyang*. Again it is served to them for their refreshment and warmth. This is known as *ngaljyang*.

On the other hand the beer which is served to the deceased person near his corpse is called *kemjyang*. *Chhyanga* is the next rite which is performed during mourning. The beer which is served to the neighbours, is called *sabjyang*. At the end of the *ghewa* (mourning) rite, the mourners invite their neighbours for thanks giving. On that occasion the beer is served them which is known as *Jongjyung*.

Similarly when the villagers are engaged in any constructive work as fitting of water-tap or construction of road or bridge inside the village the beer which is served to the workers of the village called *corjyang*.[53] It is also served on such occasion in the memory of a deceased person.

According to Furer–Haimendorf, anyone who offends the rules is fined a *nawa* which should be paid either in cash or in the form of beer which is called *naajyang*.[54]

A mason, on the completion of his work, deserves a reward of a bottle of beer or wine is given to him. Which is known as *sinjyang*.

If a son comes to his home after a long absence his parents celebrate his home coming with *dongjyang* or beer feeding ceremony.

If the Sherpas arrange any gathering for the purpose of merry making as singing, dancing and drinking to which they call it *dojyang* or *chhyang thung*.

A woman who is under birth–pollution is given a special beer which is known as *dejyang*.

The Sherpa businessmen take liquor after the settlement of business in a village within their community which they called it *chhongjyang*.

The Sherpas celebrate so many festivals during a year. On the occasions, liquor is the most essential for them.

A man who has to get some sort of working help, then he goes to request to somebody taking a bottle of liquor which is known as *yangji*. As Ortner writes, the strategy of *yangdzi* which initials softing up the hardness of others through gifts traditionally beer to gain their cooperation, *yangdzi* is based on assumption that the other will be resistant to one's request, and unmovable by purely moral/social appeals; hence need for the gift.[55]

In the Rai community they also need it in different phase of their life. In order to get religious merit people use to provide shelter and shade. For this they construct a stone Chautara, rest–platform, erecting a wooden bench, planting the pipal trees in memory of their deceased men. On that occasion, they offer one party to their guests and serve different foods as well as alcoholic drings also.[56]

In the Magar community liquor is recognised as one of the ingredient social foods for hospitality. After the fermentation of the grain, it is kept at home for three years by the Magars of hilly region. If it is kept for a long time, it becomes quite strong and it produces a kind of maggot (jandko kira in Nepali). This maggot increases more and more by taking juice of the beer. That seems very thin and inside its body nothing is seen except the juice as well. The Magars generally use to mix it with water. According to Shros (Thapa) from the drinking point of view, one maggot is sufficient for six to seven persons regarding to the intoxication.[57]

Anyway they also do not hesitate to keep good relation with the neighbours by serving liquor. If people could get this type of hospitality, they will be more happy than from other type of foods.

The Newars also take it as one of the important social foods for their life and culture. They have a numbers of fertivals, sacramental rites and rituals. On those particular occasions, many neighbours and guests use to visit at their home. At that time, if the liquor is not served to them, the dinner and dining will not be appreciated by the guests. In such a party, people take it not as a intoxicant drink but as a digestive food. They really need such type of food for their digestion. They, generally, prepare it on the occasion of festivals, *kaita puja* (bratabandha), marriage, Dasain, *kijapuja* (brother's day) and any other auspicious ceremonies except *Bhimaratharohona*. On the occasion of marriage, it is taken as an indispensable food for the purification of ritual. It (aila=wine) is given to the both bride and groom at canapy. At the same time they take it as men, which they call it *sabjanakegu*. Even it is not restricted to take at death pollution. According to their tradition, when the married daughters come to know the information about the death of any primary kin (father, mother, sisters, brothers, sister–in–law) and secondary

kin (gsand parents, uncles, aunts, etc.), they have to bring wine ginger and unrefined sugar to their natal home. It is served to the funeral processions after the cremation. The family members of the deceased person use to take it to remove their worriedness. Again four days after the death, they have to bring 2 kg. to 4 kg. beaten rice, bread and about one litre wine. It is given to the mourners. This is called *locha woyegu* or *bya woyegu*. So far as the marriage and upanayana is concerned, on that occasion too, the married daughters, nieces should bring egg, *bara* (a kind of bread), fish, wine, etc. as *sagun* (omen), This omen is given to the main person who perform the ritual. This tradition is called *chinpa theyegu*.

It is that drink which recognizes the actual kin among the Newars. In big dinner which they call *bhoe*, different members of the family serve different bods gradually and strictly. Liquor is generally served by women. It indicates that she is either married or unmarried daughter of the host. But the beer can be served by anybody.

After the wedding rite, at the time of welcoming to the bride at the house of groom, her foot is washed from three different type of drinks which they call it *bhaumacha lɪsakʊsa*.

Their hospitality is fulfilled by serving liquor. If some neighbours or guest take entrance then the husband orders his wife to serve liquor. According to the Newars of rural area, wine is served in the morning and beer is served at the day time. It is due to their traditional custom and unfamiliarity of tea. The Newars of Urban area do not prefer wine serving practice but prefer to serve tea now-a-days.

Though the Sherpas are fully acquainted with tea but they generally welcome to their guest by serving beer or wine. According to their social tradition, if someone could not offer beer immediately to the visitor he or she will be criticised by the villagers or guests. That is why to save their social prestige every Sherpas make it and are ready to serve it. It was their old tradition which was followed by the Tibetans in seventh century A. D.[58]

In the Magar community immediate after their wedding ceremony without taking wine no couple is permitted to go back to the wife's natal home. This practice is called *duran*. According to Bista, the groom's parents should prepare gifts of *rakshi*, a leg of motton, and a goal for the bride's parents to be taken along to the *duran* observance.[59]

Likewise in the Sunwar and Jirel community, *thekichardham* is the first process of arranged marriage: on the occasion of the *thekichardham* process, the boy's parents send gifts to the girl's parents after having known consent for the match has been received. Bista has written that 'the gifts consist of a goat, a chicken, millet beer, salt, mustard oil, tumeric and one rupee in cash.'[60]

In the Gurung community, without sending wine there will be no marriage proposal at all. With the decision of the boy, his parents send one of their neighbours or sometimes relatives to the girl's parent's house to present a bottle of liquor and of a rupee. If the proposal is going to be acceptable, there may come some relatives and neighbours, and entertain with food and drinks. The liquor which is not only taken in marriage, party and other ceremonies but it is given to the deceased soul also. Though it is given to the deceased soul but the

mourners are not permitted to take it for certain days.

In the Tharu community, the liquor is most essential for the marriage ceremony, festivals and hospitality. It is recognised as an essential offering to the family deities which is installed in their family house. The deities which are installed inside their home is called *deuryar*. They take it not only as social drink but it is recognised as ritual drink also. In the word of Rajaure, "The ritual *nurbhevaj* (hair cutting ceremony or celebration of the head) is performed on any Monday or Wednesday of Fagun (February–March). In this ceremony liquor is first offered to all liquor-accepting household deities. For this performance, respected guest, especially members of the boy's married, sister's household, the father sister's families and the Tharu tribal chief are invited. A great feast of pig and goat or sheep is arranged in this honour. Plenty of homemade beer is served on this occasion.[61] The Tharus do not want take it limited dose of liquor on the occasion of dances and festivals. They generally enjoy with plenty of drinks on the occasion of dancing festivals like *jhumara* dance (dance of male groups), *Sakhiya dance* (dance of male groups in ladies dress), *bhangarahavea* dance, *lathihawa* dance and so on.

The system of *bhalamansa* is not very old among the Tharus of Kailali Kanchanpur. Whereas the Tharus of Dang–Deukhuri are not familiar with it. A *bhalamansa* is recognised as a headman of particular area. He is selected by the villagers for one year. The house to which *bhalamansa* belongs, is called *badghar*. Each and every Tharus use to donate some money to *bhalamansa*. The function of *bhalamansa* is to prepare beer and wine to serve to the guests. The next duty of *bhalamansa* is to look after other economic and social activities. If they went to the *baaghar*, the *bhalamansa* serves them liquor free of cost. According to them, this system was arranged by the Ranas who use to visit there for hunting purpose. But the system is practised by then even today. Their liquor serving method to the guest is also quite interesting. According to their social tradition, if someone is serving the drink to the guest, then other members of the family also use to serve him. Though the Tamangs are poor, but they do not hesitate to brew liquor at home. They also need it in every phase of their life. They think that liquor is the most essential for marriage ceremony, funeral rites, at the time of worshipping to the family deities, at the time of cultivation and other festivious occasion. That is why it is very influensive factor of their life and culture.

On the wedding day even a poor Tamang, due to social tradition, should be ready to send twelve to eighteen bottles of liquor to the bride's house. This sort of process is called *perungolane* among the Tamangs of Nuwakot–Rasuwa and *kajel pong* among the Tamangs of Timal. After *kajel pong*, they send twelve *pong* (pot) of wine and other food materials to the bride's house, which they call it *chukunlha pong*. The function of this process to confirm the wedding date. Even a girl who is captured by boy or married by elopement the bride and the groom go to the girl's parents house only when they have given their consent. If it happens, the new couple should take a bottle of wine as a gift to the girl's parents. This is practised in the Tamang community of Northern Nepal. This gift is called *livomba*.

According to their social system when a man dies, immediately, all the villagers bring a bundle of firewood, incense, drinks and rice for the cremation of the deceased person. Then, they orderly, offer the drink

to the deceased body and then only, the fire is given to the pyre. It was asked the reason or importance of drink which was offered to the desceased body. But they could not give satisfactory answer as well. At the same time the married daughter brings liquor to her natal home and serves it to the funeral participants for the whole night. The purpose of serving this drink to the villagers is to be free from her either deceased father or mother. It is thought that she paid her debt toward her deceased father or mother. Anyway, this type of paying debts towards the father or mother by serving the drink is called *nhelabhar*. And, again the other issues, except the married daughter, take responsible to serve the drinks to the villages for two days respectively. But the sons are not permitted to drink liquor during the mourning days.

According to their belief, without offering the liquor no family deities will be pleased with them.

In the Rai cummunity also, the liquor is recognised as an essential item for their life cycle. Without liquor they cannot establish good social relations with others. In the process of arranged marriage, the proposal is accepted by the girl's parents unless liquor is sent to them till three times by the side of boy's parents which is known as *sodhane* at first time, secondly *multheki*, and thirdly *bhakah*.[62] If the boy wanted to take a Rai girl without performing any ritual, in terms of marriage by capture, he is asked by the girl "how much beer he can provide",[63] –it indicates how it is deeply rooted in their culture. But that type of questioning is based on singing conversation. The Limbu also take it as necessary social, ritual and spiritual item for ceremony, ritual and worship to the gods and goddesses of their community.[64]

## Religious Value of Liquor

Since a long time people are using it as an offering material to the gods and goddesses. Though Gautam Buddha refused it and advised everybody not to drink alcohol. Instead of it, people who believed in Saivism and become the follower of Kalamukha sect are bound to drink liquor. The worshipping of Bhairab by wine is an ancient tradition.[66] Likewise, for the Kalamukhas, keeping a pot of wine has become the means for their attainment of desires concerning this world and the next.[67]

In Nepal, since medieval period, people offer beer to the Bhairab with a view to please him. According to Vajracharya and Shrestha, that was called *ha: thon* which was celebrated in Dolakha in medieval period.[68] The same type of tradition is followed even now in Kathmandu also. The ritual worship is done to the Swyeta Bhairab of Hanuman Dhoka on the occasion of Indra Jatra festival for eight days. Generally the ritual worship goes on from 7.30 P. M. to 9 P. M. This ritual worship is called *ha: thon hyakya*. In the process, firstly there in ritual worship to the *ha: thon deo* (Swyeta Bhairab). In order to watch its ritual and to have offerings of god Bhairab, devotees have gathered in front of the statue. Majority of the devotees belong to the Newar community. After the ritual worship, *samayabaji* (flattened rice with fried black soyabeans, small pieces of cooked meat, ginger and local beer) is distributed to the devotees as a token of blessing of Bhairab. Thereafter, two *gagris* (approximately 32 litres) of beer is put into a big copper vessel which is kept behind the Bhairab statue. The hole of the big red pipe is opened and the liquor drops down from that pipe out of the mouth of the Bhairab. Shoving and elbowing one's way or even climbing on one's shoul-

ders people tried to get a mouthful of this beer blessed by Bhairab. The scramble for blessing beer usually gets quite boisterous at Hanumandhoka.[69] Besides it, some Manandhar groups of Thahiti also celebrate *ha: thon* ritual on the full moon day of Dasain festival. According to the Newars' belief, the beer which comes out of the mouth of the Bhairab and secret part of the Ganesh, becomes important medicine and recovers the bodyache and stomach pain as well. (Pl. No. 3A, 3B & 4A).

Even if they are sick from evil sight, it cures by drinking even a single drop of beer. It shows how the beer is rooted in the Newar spiritual souls. It is not only by people, god and goddess but it is also taken by the demon or devil soul. They believe if the liquor is given to the demon then he will not create any trouble for them. As the Newars observe another festival which is called *Gathemuga*. On this particular day, every people offer *kat* to the demon in five places: in front of main entrance gate of the home and in four corners of the space, where the spirits might have remained there. This offering is called *baubiyegu*. They think that Kumar, the son of Lord Mahadev, will be staying in front of the main entrance gate.

The beer has not only the religious value in their community but wine also has same importance as such. They prepare special wine wnich is called *dɔ̀ aila* (wine of god). This sort of drink is fully dedicated to the gods and goddesses. But it cannot be said which god is particularly related with their drink. Most of the traditional Newars use to distill it in the month of Poush (December) and some of the Jyapoos prepare it in the month of Baishakh-Jestha (March-April). According to them, if it is supposed to drink *deo aila*, water should not be mixed with it. If someone drinks with water he or she may fall victim of leprosy or asthma. Till now the old Newars do not drink it with water epecially on ceremonial and festive occasions.

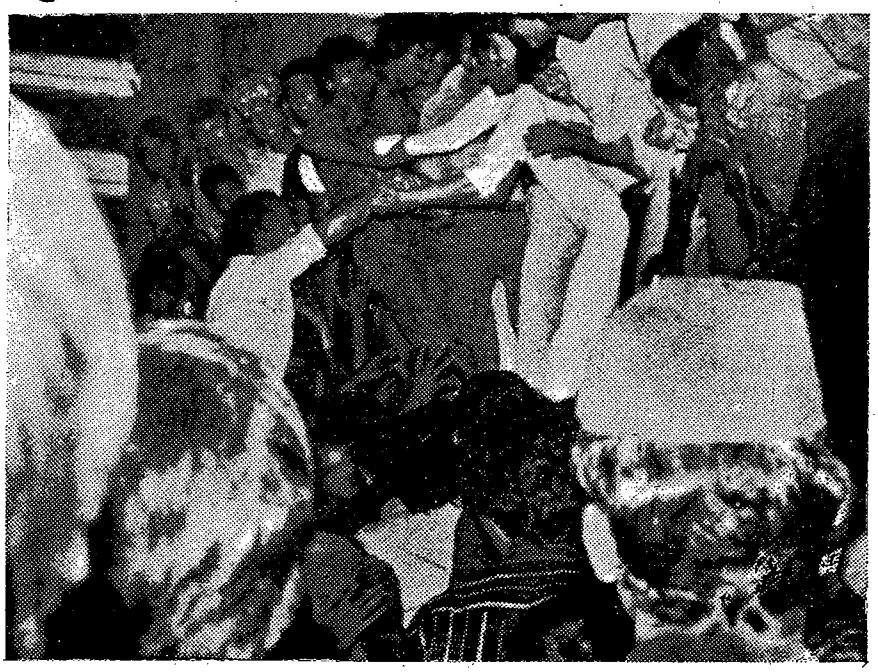
Even in the Sherpa community beer is completely recognised as religious drink. Before taking it, they touch it with ring finger and springle towards up three times as an offering to the gods and it is called *Chhe ! Chhe ! Chhe* in the Sherpa tongue. Chhe ! Chhe ! Chhe ! means the liquor is being offered to Guru Padmasambhava or Guru Rimpoche. Without offering it to Guru, no one would drink it as it is thought to be direct sin among them.[70] This proves that the beer is recognised as sacred drink of the community.

Even in Tantra, the drink is ritually purified and consecrated before actually drinking it. According to Varya, this is called ritual drink which is accepted by all Tantric.[71] In this context, it can be taken another example of the word *panchamakar* (Madhya, Mamsa, Maithun, Madra, Min) which is used by Sahajyanist or Vajrayanist. Ritually, the drink is indispensable for the Vajrayanist at the time of receiving *dikshya* (mantra).[72]

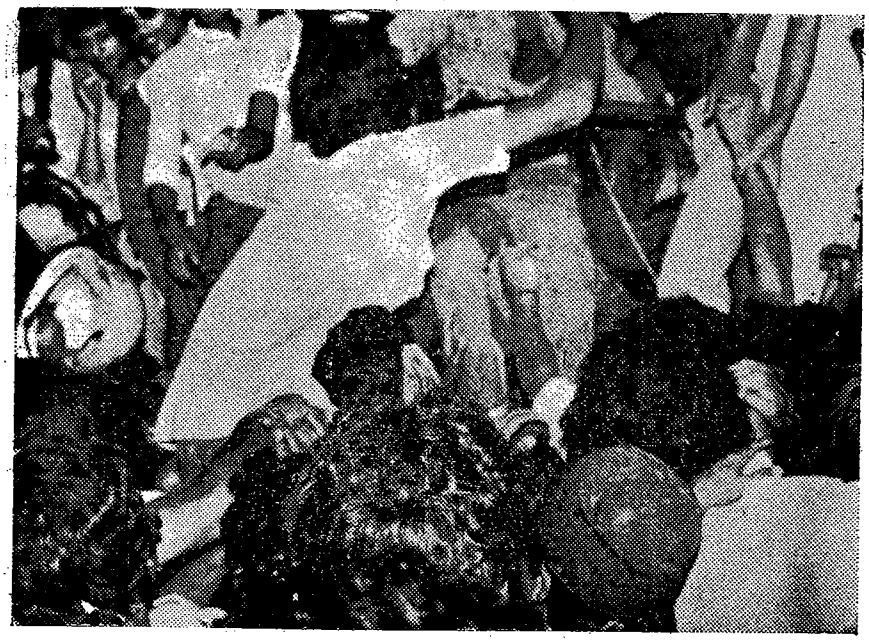
## Medicinal Value of Liquor

Though it is an intoxicating material but these people regard it as a medicine also- if someone got bodyache, stomach pain, indigestion, cholera, and so on. In this context people take it as medicine for cure. According to the belief of Newars, if someone catches cholera, immediately *hyaun thon* is given to the patient. If any woman suffers from any kind of disorder in her womb, *hyaun thon* is given to her which affects positively within the short span. If fracture or soiling

*(A) Ritual of ha: thon deo*



*(B) Shoving or elbowing own's a way or even climbing on shoulder to get a mouthful of beer blessed by Bhairab*



*(A) A devotee is drinking blessing beer*

*(B) A Tamang womon is selling hurya beer to the Porters in Gongar village of Dolakha district*

occurs then the wine is given to him or massage on that part of body. If someone suffers from cold then the drink is taken by him. *Bya* or *byako* or *belayaaila* is the next important local wine of the Newars. It is also prepared in the month of Paush (December–Janaury). According to their belief, the water of December is recognised as pure and healthful. That is why, it is used as an important drug also. In order to save from painful diseases, most of the traditional people keep it at their home but they will be hardly ready to provide it to everybody because they do not have sufficient *byako aila*. In order to distill this type of wine, water is poured nine times which they call it *nau pani*, then only the wine will be ready for distillation. It is not only considered as medicine by the Newars, but other matawali communities also take it in the same manner. A woman who gives birth and if she could not provide breast milk to the infant then the beer is given to her for some months. It is said that the beer helps to start lactation.

## Liquor-Food for Walking

In the hilly regions people generally use to walk twenty to twenty four miles a day. When they start their walking along the way, they feel thirsty and hungry. So they are in quest of some foods. If someone is about to go out of his home at the outset of his departure, *hurya*, approximately two litres is taken by him and then he leaves that place for somewhere. According to the people, it gives energy for walk till three hours and as also not possible to get anything along the way. Generally the distance of another settlement area in hilly region is far from 4–6 miles from the starting point. In those areas, as it was observed everyone is supposed to take *hurya* or *jand* or *chhyang* or *rakshi* either at their own home or on the way where it may be available. Those areas where people are acquainted with tea, someone may take drink. As it was seen in Solukhumbu and from Hyanja to Ghandrung areas of Kaski district. But the people, like porters do not prefer to have tea. Many workers, labourers are chronically under nourished, others are unable to buy a variety of food sufficient to provide an adequate varied diet. They use liquor as a supplement to a diet counteract the monotony of food. Besides that the causes of drinking in such a situation is due to their fatigueness from long hours of walking. (Pl. No. 4B)

## Liquor-Food for Working

In various communities of Nepal, liquor is taken as food for work. The economy of majority of the people is based on agriculture and labour. When people go to the field, they work hard and feel tired and exhausted, considering the climatic environment, culture and permission, it is served to them at least four times a day. They drink it not because of getting intoxicant but to get refreshment and energy. In this context, people generally prefer to take and serve beer instead of wine because it is expensive and also causes headache.

In connection with this matter, the Jyapoos belong to the Newar groups, are traditionally cultivators consume the beer five to six times a day. When he cultivates his town land holdings. It is also said that if he takes more than three pegs at a time, he may lose his consciousness. That means the beer which is brewed by the Jyapoos is quite strong. If wine is served to the workers it is assumed that they would feel laziness which affect their working efficiency. Their main purpose is to work in the field. Besides it the moderate doses of beer make them active. In the interval of 1–2 hours the beer is served to them by the female folk in a little quantity. While the women

also work in the field; they do not take it so frequently. The same tradition is observed among other matawali communities of rural and hilly regions but to environmental as well as cultural understanding, when they work in the field of non-matawali people they are not supposed to get it and so they do not take care for the liquor.

As far as the Newars of rural area are concerned, they may take liquor from anybody. Due to their caste heirarchical system, people immediately hesitate to drink from any caste and subcastes of the society. The Newars feel that they become impure during the agricultural season especially at the time of transplantation. Some people said that the local beer is recognised as nonpurified food in social heirarchical context. That is why after the transplantation, people perform a purificatory ceremony on the occasion of Gathemuga festival of Shrawan (July-August), which is known as *sinaja-benkegu*. As it is mentioned, "just after the agriculture season, *sija-benke* for the purification of one's self is held. Because during the plantation period food and drinks are taken without any attention to the caste differences of the planters and then one is supposed to have been impure."[73] After this purification, it is understood that the plantation season has been off and they exchange their tobaco-smoking hubbles-bubbles, kitchen and beer drinking process within their endogamous group. On the occasion of *sinaja benkegu*, they follow certain rituals like taking bath, cutting nail and clearing home, etc.

The Sherpas and the Tamangs do not take liquor from the hand of Damais, Kamis, and Sarkis. They do not have any purificatory ceremonies also. Though the Hyanbas who culturally look like the Sherpas but they are called *Khamidiku* which are catagorised into the lower group as *juthonamilne* or *mukhnamilne* in their tongue. That is why the *khadiku* (*juthomilne* or *mukhmilne*) Sherpas do not prefer to exchange their liquor with *Khamiaiku*. It is due to the group superiority and inferiority. But none of the *matawali* groups mentioned that taking or remaining food or drink, *jutho* of other's is the most harmful from the view point of health.

The Newars do not prefer to take liquor without any snacks. The farmers take a lot of snacks like beaten rice, soybeans, potato curry, chhoyela, kachila, sekuwa, beams and so on. But, the Sherpas, the Tamangs and the other groups do not take snacks at all.

## Liquor and Its Popularity

Now-a-days it is gaining more popularity in the Urban areas and central headquarters of the districts. Generally the home-brewed liquors are sold in the rural and hilly areas as well as in Urban areas but the distilled liquor is mainly popular among the Urban inhabitants of the country.

Credit business is more effective in Urban as compared to rular areas. This is accepted by both sides - debtor and creditor. Once the people get on credit them, they do not hesitate to take it regularly. The youths, who feel the deindividuation, start drinking and become habituated. In the word of Lindgren, deindividuation is more likely to occur in situating in which the individual feels anonymous and without identity such as when he is away from home in an environment in which no one knows who he is, when he is disguised, when he is part of large crowed or when he is under the influence of psychoactive drugs like alcohol and cannabis."[74] Recreation is also next important factors for its habituation. As Elliot and Merril write "Recreational pattern also

affect group drinking habits to a major degree.[75] Drinking is ordinarily confined to leisure hours.[76] Friday night is the traditional occasion for a spree. That is the one night of the week when the individual is free from the social demands of the morrow.

Actually, they are compelled to drink it because of cultural affiliation and assimilation, social interaction, climate, environment, entertainment instead of job dissatisfaction, frustration and others.

At all certain time of the year there are more gatherings, or *melas* (fair) at various places in different villages and localities attend to drink, sing, dance and have a good time. The attendants are from both core and marginal group of the society.

It is always popular in the core phase of the society. Though some of the educated matawali youths are giving up this drinking habit.

The marginal groups are approximately five hundred thousands of people out of the total number of population of Nepal, bear offices–government, educational institutions, corporations, tourism business agency, army, police, politicians businessmen, labourers and some youths (not all) are gradually taking this habit. But, this marginal phase comprises both matawali and nonmatawali groups of Nepal. Some of them prefer to take it at their own home to maintain the secrecy and some of them do not hesitate to enjoy with it openly. These marginal groups may take all three different kinds of drinks– homebrewed liquor, Nepalese distilleries and imported. If they do not have sufficient money, then homebrewed is taken. Otherwise, they generally prefer to drink distillery. But, on the occasion of big party at hotel or somewhereelse, they may get imported drinks also. Besides that, according to the nature of income, quality of drink is chosen. Among them, some use to take it regularly, some once in a week, some occasionally. Some of them are habituated and some are not favour of it.

So far as the fringe phase is concerned, they generally do not create any sort of problem in the social spheres as an intoxicated individual creates on. They generally drink at their own home and sometimes at restaurant and bar. There are not more than two hundred households who can consume the imported drinks permanently. It is only possible to drink it by the higher classes of the Nepalese society. Because they are economically sound. Their drinking pattern is completely different from the ordinary core and marginal groups. But sometimes, some of the marginal members are also accompanied with them only for drinking purpose. Their alcoholic gathering or party seems as western gathering in the sense of speaking, talking, discussing, joking and laughing style. At that time they look like very soplisticated, modernised and westernised.People at the time of drinking.speak in English with low voice or in disciplinary way. But they do not care for the drink whether it is related with own's culture or not.Anyway,drinking is not a moral issue. Both men and women and there is no attendant implication of immorality. Also, it does not affect to their economy. So far as the culture is concerned, it is already diffused in their community and the purpose of drinking is only for recreation.

Distribution of liquor especially among the weaker sections of both rural and hilly areas as well as in Urban areas, during the election period to turn their opinion in his favour is also a effective measure of popularity of liquor in the society.

Due to increasing popularity of this habit considering the side–effects of its, it

is usually asked whether the youths use to take it or not during marriage negotiation. It shows how alcohol is gaining popularity and affecting the Brahmins and the Kshatriya's society too. Culture and religion permit to drink only to matawali groups but it never emphasized much drinking alcohol to anybody. Anyway core groups take it in an organised way while the youths of marginal and fringe group take it in disorganised way under the slogan of fashion, modernity, westernity, friendship, fatigueness, etc.

Alcohol is that means from which one can establish a good friendship with anybody by serving Scotch Whisky,Champagne, distilled or homebrewed liquor. It depends on standard of living, personality, economy and influence, etc. One is served to the others to find out secrecy from him or them. When one is intoxicated then, without any hesitation disclose confidential matters. In one side it may be beneficial but on the other side it is quite dangerous because he is not suppose to transfer the confidential informations.

Some of them drink regularly, some occasionally, and some occasional excessively. As Jellinek commented, other types of drinking, like occasional excessive drinking, may lead to behaviors that present a problem to society: examples of these would be "explosive drinking" in Finland, or Fiesta drinking in Spain, Portugal, Brazil and Argentina.[77]

In such a case, those over-enthusiastic imbibers may drink away their money, fight with their friends or strangers; jeopardize their jobs by appearing at work with hangovers; neglect their children, beat their wives; engage in sexual infidelities with other women; or otherwise give evidence of personal disorganisation. According to the nature of drinking of the people, they can be catagorised into two groups- drunkeness and alcoholism.

The non-alcoholic drinks because he likes to; the alcoholic drinks because he must. The former groups drinks for various reasons to relax, to forget, to make friends, to make money, to celebrate, to quench their thirst, to warm (or cool) themselves, or to show their virility. The alcoholic makes no such pleasant decession. He drinks because he can do nothing else. The chief characteristics of the true alcoholic is therefore the compulsive nature of his drinking.[78] These type of people, after drinking, may become subject to blackouts exhibiting a complete loss of memory in the morning for what he said or did the previous evening. The more moderate signs and symptoms seen after he is deprived off alcohol include intense craving for it, weakness, tremour, perspiration and so on.[79] As Bruce Ritson and Christine Hassal have witnessed the situation of some drunkards, when their potation had been longer witheld than usual; it is imposible to relate such a scene; fantic gestures; hideous yells; screams of torture; looks of despair; groans; signs; weeping and gnashing of teeth; are but a describable part of it; it may literally be summed up in what is called the "torments of the damned."[80] The physical damage may involve stomach ulcers, cirrhosis of the liver, or peripherial neuritis; moreover excessive drinking lowers the body's resistance to tuberculosis. Mental damage ranges from nervous disorders to delirium tremens and stems from the poisonous effects of too much alcohol, and this may be aggravated by malnutrition if the man has been neglecting his diet.[81]

In Nepalese societal context, very few people are pure alcoholic and some use to take occasional excessively and a lot of people, yet the data could not be collected at all, are seen as excessive drinkers in Urban areas. So far as the occasional excessive drinkers

are concerned, they can be found on the festive spots. In the beginning it is taken as a food for recreation but later on it may creat a problem. The same thing happens in the restaurant also. People come together, laugh, talk, drink, and become intoxicant. After taking at least three pegs of liquor, they start steriotyped of discussions which seems of no use. Finally the restuarant is to be closed. Anyway the number of the alcoholic people are increasing day by day. As Horton notes that for many societies a similar sequence of behavior occurs during drinking. In the early stages there is laughter and friendly conversation, but in the later stages of intoxication quarreling and fighting often break out among the men.[82]

## Market Price of Local Wine and Beer

Generally in ale–houses, one peg of local wine is charged Rs. 2 Occasional drinkers usually consume it not more than three pegs whereas the habituated drinkers consumed it nearly five to six pegs as such. The quantity of peg is about 1/4 of glass. In rural areas, one peg is equal to one full glass which they charge not more than 2 rupees at all. One may consume it from three to five glasses as such. So far as the local beer is concerned, in Kathmandu, it costs 2 rupees per *mokh* (approximately half litre) whereas the people charge it only 50 pice to one rupee per glass in rural areas. In those areas,one may consume five to seven glasses or *dabakas* or *khola* or *badhas* of beer easily.

## Liquor and Women

In almost all the secieties women are regarded as house–wives. Their work is to prepare the food, look after the child, clean the house, grazing the cattles, working to the fields and so on. Majority of the non-matawali women, except higher families, do not take liquor at all. The women of matawali group are permitted to take it. But after all drunkenness is not very common among them. As Mandelbaum writes, where drinking is culturally approved it is typically done more by men than by women.[83] Though the women do not take it more in comparison with men but it is completely associated with them. In regard to the Limbu community, "local women made huge quantities of beer to sale day and night to the ex–soldiers and their friends and families."[84] The Thakali, Magar and Gurung women of Western Nepal and the Tamang, the Sherpa women of North–East and Eastern Nepal also follow the same occupation. That is why the liquor has become one of the important income sources of women. According to Caplan, probably one third of outside income other than army service comes from the sale of beer and liquor.[85] Some women who follow this business, add the income to their own private fund which is known as *pewa* in Brahmin and Kshatriya society. It was seen in Rolwaling Sherpa Village. A Sherpa woman, who left her husband and started this liquor selling business at her natal–home and said the money which she earns that goes to her own property. Mcdougal also mentions, from time to time that she (Rai woman) adds to this private fund while living with her husband, by selling beer or liquor which she prepares, a common source of petty income for women, or by working on other people's field for daily wages.[86] Even on the periodical market day, and some other festive occasions, the women earn a lot of money from it. On that particular day people come from very far for the purpose of marketing and meeting to their relatives, neighbours on the spot. When they meet each other, then they decide to go to ale–houses for drinking

purpose. Anyway very few women seem drunk on that particular day. In such a occasion they are forced to drink it moderately by the male friends or relatives or even own family members.

In most of the villages, where the tea-shop or ale-houses are opened, that is generally watched by the woman. Due to the women's presence other people use to visit there and take some liquor. In this way, the woman use spend their days and night for their livelihood. The atmosphere of ale-house, where the woman is host seems very pleasantish in the evening and sometimes unpleasant also. But one of the important characteristics of these hostess that the problem has been already digested and do not care for any pollution. This sort of ale-house reflects two major things in the society - first, it may possible to integrate the people and the second, it may spoil the life of young people of the society.

Among the women from different communities, the Thakali women are expert in ale-selling business. Their technique of selling is by laughing, talking and serving, to the guests. Like Thakali, the Sherpa women also know how to sell and serve the liquor to the strangers. But the Sherpa women have their own cultural identity. If someone become very close with them, they do not hesitate to serve some peg of liquors without taking money. They think it as social transaction or cultural tradition.

Most of the matawali women know the technique of distillation, fermentation and filtration of liquor. In regard to Limbu woman, Jones and Jones write that in winter season when a woman distills liquor which takes several hours, neighbouring women gather to taste the product and offer a sometimes brutally hunest judgement on its duality.[87] The Sherpas do not have his traditon and the person who is making liquor himself or herself tastes it. According to them, all of the member cannot make it tasty.

## Family Environment

Good family environment is the symbol of ideal society. If one married man become addicted, he gives a lot of trouble not only to his family members but to the society also. One type of people drink limited quantity outside the house, return and go to bed. It is understood to his wife. But the next type of people take unlimited peg, become aggressive, come late at their home and would beat their wives, shout at children. Those type at of drinkers not only misbehave their famialy members but do the same thing outside the house also. Drinking at home or returning home after drinks is very dangerous and will have strong effects on the children.[88] Besides that, if some people take liquor in moderate dose at their own home or outside the house that increases sexual performance. Moderate quantities of alcohol help in relaxing an inhibited female partner, and enjoying sex better.[89] There is some recognised member of the family who only is allowed to make beer as well. There is no restriction to drink liquor for Sherpa women from their husband. Comparatively the unmarried girls do not take too much. Anyway female drinking is an incidental and male drinking is an incidental and male drinking is a part of the masculine role.[90] There are some higher classes of women in the Kshatriya society, who are habituated with it. They take it not because of cultural fulfilment but because of entertainment. Anyway, most of the women are completely associated with liquor among the matawali societies. But drunkenness is after all not very common to them.

The farmers and rural matawali people work hard and look very tired in the evening. In order to get refreshment, they (not all) use to get some moderate dose of liquor, but, it increases them sexual feeling. As a result of this, women give birth year after year.

So far as the addict member of a family is concerned, once he is addicted, his all responsibilities goes to his wife or son. It actually seems a great problem to maintain their day to day life in comparison with their neighbours.The addict man fights, quarrels and disturbs to his neighbours. Thus enemity increases day by day. It directly affects his family members. Consiquently, their social relation also may be cut off with the villagers. This will be their next problem.

There will be no good relation between father and son. The son is always anxious about his father and due to the father's disturbance he cannot read and write. Finally, he may not attend school because his father cannot provide the needs for education as money is spent on liquor. As Acuff Etal writes, the third way a home may be broken is by one or both parents refusing to play the role of a parent. The alcoholic parent whose overwhelminig concern is his ability to supply his drinking habit is an example. This parent, either male or female, spends a considerable amount of the family income on himself and does not accept the responsiblility of child rearing or care, may often be abusive and consciously withdraws themself from meaningful iteraction. By being present but not playing an appropriate role he becomes virtually non-person to the child who is in search of a model for a parent.[9]

In connection with this matter, Nepali women do not drink too much. That is why they will not create such type of problem in the family environment at all. If their husband followed that negative path, then, they know only weeping as their alternative way.

Occasionally, they seem intoxicant and begin quarrelling, fighting, or falling down on the street. But even in such a situation, people do not care for them because of their permissive culture or matawali character. But, if the addicted people belong to the non-matawali group, they are neglected by the society. It also affects to their children's personality. Generally, their personality develops from either inferiority complex or responsibility bearer for the maintenance of their family members.

In average, except ale-houses, the matawali people make it from 160 kg. grain every year in each household families. No doubt, the distillery type of drink is gaining more popularity in urban areas. But it is not culturally accepted to the rites and rituals of the traditional alcoholic society. Even, due to their low economy, they cannot provide these types of drink to the worker at different situations.

## Conclusion

Homebrewed liquor is the natural gift to the human beings. Since very long time people are taking it as a part of socio-cultural universe. In Hindu society, since the time of Smritikaras, it is tabooed in the Brahmin and Kshatriya society. Even today, the orthodox Brahmins and the Kshatriyas do not touch it at all. But in the context of matawali society, it is completely related with ecology, economy, socio-cultural system and religious belief of the people of Nepal. Those ethnic groups who are culturally permitted to take liquor, it has become an indispensible food at the axis of their life. As they use it, on building their houses and

other type of works, at the time of cultivation, at sowing time and harvest, for curing their sick, buying their dead, on welcoming and hosting their friends, relatives and guests, on celebrating their marriage and other ritual ceremonies.

Due to the natural sorounding, people make it differently by applying their traditional technology and consume it in different way according to their cultural norms, values and beliefs. It is not only accepted by man but it is equally accepted by the gods and goddesses and spirits, as they believe also. Religious festival is also one of the sources of collective merry-making of the people. In festivious spot, people not only pray and worship to the god but they drink and entertain also. Due to these various reasons, liquor has become integral part of their cultural.

Many non-matawali young people after crossing the age of 20, are going to handituated on it. Some of them use to take it out of their home and do not want to show their liquor intaking habit to their parents as well. They just follow the hereditary cultural adjustment. Anyway their compartmentalizational behavior remains of no use from the cultural point of view. It is known to others that they drink outside their home. Thus they are adopting the new way of life and their culture is fast being diffused by the influence of other culture. The liquor has played an unique role to avoid the caste feeling in the society. A Brahmin or Kshatriya boy use to take it with lower caste group at the same table even somtimes sharing the same liquor glass with each other. Though it creates a problem but equally it has helped to create man to man relation or social integration. Over all, drunkenness is not common in the various ethnic societies but it is gradually pervading in urban areas and central headquarters of the districts of the country. In alcoholic society, the issues request their guardian not to drink too much whereas the parents of non-alcoholic society use to force their habituated sons to leave that alcohol intaking bad habit. Anyway alcohol does not seem as integral part of the Brahmins and Kshatriya's culture.

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# NEPAL

(Continued)

## Two Months in Nepal

### January–March 1898

### Note book to sojourn

**– Sylvain Levi**

12th of January, 7.30 p. m., fort of Sisagarhi, Nepal, at an altitude of 1950 metres.

Let us recapitulate. Left Calcutta on Saturday the 8th January at 9.30 p. m., I travelled 685 kilometres interruputed by three changes of vechicles, at 5.30 at 6 and 7.30. On Sunday 9th at 4.30 p. m. (or 19 hours of rail), I jump into a phaeton and roll another five or six kilometers on a very uneven road. Delightful evening with colonel and Madam Wylie on Nepal. I dine with them in ceremony at the neighbouring indigo factory–one of the guests arrives delighted he has just killed his tiger, an unexpected tiger, hidden in jungle near his bunglow. He very soon sent for an elephant and a rifle, and gave the animal his due. Everyone here has a tiger or tigers to his account. Colonel Wylie does not count them anymore. At this very moment he is officially soliciting an authorisation in favour of a gentleman and a lady who are keen on hunting the tiger in the Nepalese Tarai. Very alluring beginning isn't it ?

In the morning the horses and the phaeton of the rajah of Bettiak takes me back to Segowlie where my escort awaits me: palanquin, 'doly (mountain chair), 16 bearers for me, 8 for my boy, Fransesco, 7 for the baggage, plus the sepoy in charge of these men. The enterprise is not always easy; sometimes the coolies leave their passenger in the heart of a jungle and free themselves (desert) Madam Wylie herself has known this mishap. Fate has been kinder to me. The sepoys of Colonel Wylie, well made Hindu, black bearded have all vied with one another as regards cares, goodwill and precautions; and if I ruin myself in gratifications, at least I am well served. The journey to Nepal is rather ruinous; I reckon that it will cost me at least 400 rupees, 650 franks: as much as from Marseilles to Bombay with a little less comfort. The bearers are marvels of strength and of speed; the palanquin is a real wooden room; with a bedding the provisions, the household goods and the lodger; the burder is well 100 kilograms and four men to carry it, they can easily travel at 8 kitometres an hour (55/7 miles); impossible to walk with them; one must run or jump into the palanquin. (To be Continued)

# श्रीपाली बम्म सन्तति : एक विवेचना

— पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'छात्री'

## २. मध्यकाल तथा उत्तर मध्यकाल—

### १.१. प्रवेश

नेपालमा मानवशास्त्रको अध्ययन गर्ने निजी प्रवृत्तिमा नृवंशशास्त्रको विशेषस्थान छ। कारण नेपालका जनजाति र जनजातिको वंश शृङ्खला हजारौं वर्षदेखि आफ्नै पनमा पल्लवित हुँदै आएको सत्यता अपरिहार्य छ। त्यसो हुनाले नेपालमा नृवंशशास्त्रको अध्ययन गर्दा विशुद्ध मौलिक दृष्टिकोण र अन्तर्मुखी प्रवृत्ति मात्र स्वस्थकर एवं हितकर हुने सत्यता नकार्न सकिदैन।

हुन त यो नयाँ प्रवृत्ति नहोला। किनभने प्राचीन साहित्यमा पनि 'आत्मावारे अधीतव्य श्रोतव्यो स्मर्तव्य कीर्तितव्यश्च' जस्ता अमोघ वचनहरू प्रतिपादित छन्। तथापि कालक्रमबशात् यस प्रवृत्तिको पूर्णतः लोप भएको अनुभव गरिन्छ। तत्सम्बन्धमा नेपालीले पनि आफूलाई चिन्ने जान्ने इच्छा गरेर अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय लहरमा आत्मसात् बनी आफ्ना विषयमा हेर्न थालेको त्यति धेरै समय भएको छैन। एक प्रकार अझ पनि प्रथम चरणतिरै छौं भन्न सकिन्छ तापनि केही मानवशास्त्रीहरूका लगनशीलताले भए गरेका तत्सम्बन्धी कार्यले प्रवृत्तिको विकासमा निकै सघाउ पुर्‍याएको छ। यो प्रस्तुति पनि त्यस उपक्रमको एउटा क्षीण प्रयास हो।

### १.२ विवरणिका

नेपाली समाज आफूलाई काश्यपी सृष्टिको मूल आधार मान्दछ। त्यसो हुँदा नेपालमा विद्यमान जनजाति र विभिन्न समुदायहरू काश्यपान्वयी छन् भन्नु समीचीन छ। यद्यपि सन्तानहरू सप्तर्षि प्रधान सूचक नभएर 'पञ्च पंचैव रक्षिता' का सूचक रहेको तथ्य हामीले अन्य पुष्पिकामार्फत्[1] औंल्याएका छौं। यस प्रसंगमा पनि तत्सम्बन्धी छलफल गर्ने चेष्टा भइरहेछ।

पौराणिककालको ब्राह्मीसृष्टिको एक मात्र उत्तराधिकारी काश्यपीसृष्टि प्राचीनकालदेखि पर्वताश्रयिन् आचरण गर्दै आएको थियो र कुनै समयमा यसैले मानसकल्पको संज्ञा समेत पाएको थियो। अर्थात् भगवान् कश्यप मनुले आफ्नो सृष्टि सौरभको नवप्रभात तेस्रो ध्रुवको सन्धिस्थललाई मानेका थिए र तेस्रो ध्रुवको लक्ष्मण बिन्दुदेखि पश्चिम सागरसम्मको भू-भागलाई प्रारम्भिक अवस्थामा मानवबस्ती योग्य मानेका थिए। प्रारम्भमा त्यस भूभागलाई कुशद्वीप भनिन्थ्यो भन्ने तथ्य पनि पूर्वविवर्णिकामार्फत् औंल्याइसकिएको छ। तसर्थ पुनः त्यसतर्फ नलागेर यस दोस्रो चरणबारे यथामति प्रकाश पार्नु वांछनीय हुनेछ।

जुन समाज नेपाल-धरातलमा विकसित रही आएको छ त्यस समाजका बहुतायत प्रकीर्णहरू मध्यएशियाबाट विस्तार भएका सम्बन्धमा पूर्वविवर्णिकामार्फत् स्पष्ट गरिएको छ। यो पनि तत्सम्बन्धी एक योग हो। यसमार्फत् भन्न वा व्यक्त गर्न खोजिएको मूलभूत विषय हो काश्यपीसृष्टिको उत्तराधिकारी समाज नेपालमा विद्यमान छ र त्यही समाजको नाम नेपाली हो। नेपाली एउटा सार्वभौम-

सत्ता सम्पन्न राष्ट्रको जाति भएकोले यसको रचनामा विविधता पाइनु स्वाभाविक मानिन्छ । तसर्थ यत्रो राष्ट्रिय जाति एउटै प्रस्रवण, एउटै समुदाय र एउटै गोत्रमा प्रतिबद्ध छ भन्ने दुस्साहस गरिएको होइन । परन्तु यस मार्फत् खश महासमुदायको एक महत्वपूर्ण अङ्ग श्रीपाली समुदायका सम्बन्धमा मात्र केही नीरक्षीर विवेचना गर्ने प्रयास गरिएको हो । प्रस्तोताको विचारमा पूर्वोक्त अंगमध्ये ज्येष्ठ श्रेष्ठ समाज श्रीपाली समाज हो । त्यसकारण नेपालका सौरभीको विवेचना गर्दा सर्वप्रथम श्रीपाली समाजबारे प्रकाश पारेपछि मात्र अन्य थरी समाजका इयत्ता पहिल्याउन मार्ग प्रशस्त हुनेछ ।

## १.३ श्रीपालीको परिभाषा

उत्तर प्राचीनकालमा अस्तित्वमा आएका अनुमान गरिएका खश जातिका पाँच वटा राज्यहरू यस प्रकार थिए– (१)श्रीपाल (२)सिजा (३)खप्तड (४)कालोकोट र (५) खुलाली । हाम्रो अनुभवमा यी राज्यहरू मध्यकाल-को प्रारम्भसम्म क्रियमाण रहे । यिनै मध्येको श्रीपाल राज्य एउटा हो । यसको स्थिति पूर्वी मानस प्रदेश जस–लाई तिब्बेतेलीहरू आफ्नो भाषामा 'ङरी' भन्दथे गण्डकी-सम्म विस्तारित थियो । यति ठूलो हुनुभन्दा पहिले मानसरोवरदेखि पूर्व सिजा 'मात्से' भन्दा पश्चिम, खप्तड र कालीकोट राज्यभन्दा उत्तर सिरा वा शैलदेशभन्दा पूर्वोत्तर कोणमा थियो । कुनै समय यसको राजधानीलाई पूर्वी ब्रह्मपुर पनि भनिन्थ्यो त्यसबारे खोज हुन बाँकी नै छ । सुवर्णभूमिको राजधानीलाई पनि ब्रह्मपुर भनिने हुँदा सजिलोको लागि पश्चिमी ब्रह्मपुर र पूर्वी ब्रह्मपुर भनिएको हुन सक्छ यो पूर्वी ब्रह्मपुरको अवस्थिति वर्तमान वाजुरा जिल्ला अन्तर्गत कतै पर्दथ्यो होला । श्रीपाल देशको नयाँ नाम ङरी (याङरी) रहेको भएपछि यसलाई धवलाद्रि, सिनाम र बज्राङ्ग भनिन थालेको बुझिन्छ । अतएव यसै श्रीपालदेशका अधिशास्ताहरू 'श्रीपाली' कहलाए ।

नेपाली नृवंशशास्त्रमा श्रीपाली समुदाय विशेष सम्मानित रहेको सत्यता नकार्न मिल्दैन । त्यसैले पूर्वोक्त प्रकाश यसमा बोधगम्य हुन सक्छ । बढी जानकारीको लागि पूर्वपुष्पिकामार्फत् गरिएको नीतिगत विवेचना मननीय हुन आउँछ ।[1] अन्ततोगत्वा यस प्रसंगमा उक्त परिभाषित श्रीपालीहरू प्राचीन तथा पूर्व-मध्यकालमा जसरी विकसित रहे त्यससम्बन्धी प्रसंगलाई विश्रान्ति दिएर उत्तर–मध्यकाल यता बढेका श्रीपाली सन्तानहरू के कस्तो अवस्थामा छन् तत्सम्बन्धमा संक्षिप्त विवेचना गर्नु र सर्वान्तिम बम्म थरका श्रीपाली बारेका थोरबहुत प्रकाश पार्नु यसको उद्देश्य रहेको छ ।

## २.१ व्याख्या

अद्यावधि भए गरेका तत्सम्बन्धी खोजीनीतिबाट यस्तो निष्कर्ष प्राप्त हुने सम्भावना छ । जस्तो:– खशगण-को विस्तार 'पंच पंचैव रक्षिता' को नीतिगत अवलम्बनमा आधारित रहेको मान्यता विस्तारै छर्लङ्ग हुँदै आएको छ ।[3] त्यसरी नै वर्तमान अवस्थामा समेत यस अवलम्बनमा पूर्णता झल्किरहेकै विश्वास गरिन्छ । यस अनुसार खश जातिका पाँच प्रकीर्णहरू[2] आपसमा अत्यन्त मनोहारी किसिमले मौलाउँदै आएका अनुभव गरिन्छन् । ठीक तिनै पाँच प्रकीर्णमध्ये चर्चित श्रीपाली वंश ज्येष्ठ श्रेष्ठ प्रकीर्ण हो भन्ने उक्ति पुन: दोहऱ्याइँदैछ । सर्वात्मना ज्येष्ठ श्रेष्ठ सन्तति भएकै नाताले मात्र पनि पूर्वोक्त काव्यरूपी सृष्टिको सजीव इतिहासको रूपमा मौलाउन पाएको हुन सक्छ । अतएव यस वंशको विस्तार उपक्रम नेपाली समाज, संस्कृतिका नीतिगत मान्यता अनुरुप हुँदै आएको सत्यता मनन गरी निम्न विभाजनको रूपरेखामाथि सर्वप्रथम दृष्टि केन्द्रित रहनु अपेक्षित छ:–

### २.१.१ मष्टको आधारमा भएको विभाजन

खश जातिको अस्मिता मष्टमा आधारित छ । सम्भवत: यस शाश्वत सत्य बुझ्ने विरलै बाँकी होलान् । वस्तुत: यससम्बन्धी विवेचनाको नाभिकीय विन्दु पनि मध्य-काल नै न्यास गरिन्छ । कारण मष्टको प्रादुर्भाव, मष्टप्रति रहेको जातिगत अनन्य विश्वास, मष्ट सम्प्रदायको औचित्य र मष्टको कुलायन प्रवृत्ति आदि वैशिष्ट्य पूर्व-मध्यकालका रश्मि हुन् भन्ने दिग्दर्शन पूर्वविवर्णिकामार्फत् भएको छ ।[2] त्यसउसले प्रस्तुत प्रसंगमा सर्वान्तिम विभाजनका केही छटामाथि मात्र विवेचना गर्नु कर्तव्य भएको छ ।

महासामुदायिक विभाजनका कारक, सामुदायिक विभाजनका कारक, गोत्र विभाजन, क्षेत्र विभाजनका कारक आदिमाथि परेको सांस्कृतिक छवि 'पंचै पंचव रक्षिता' को गन्तव्य यसमा केही भिन्न देखापरेको छ । यस कारकान्त प्रकारमाथि मनन् अनुशीलन गर्दा त्रिपथ गन्तव्य,[4] चतुःसन, पंचानन, षडानन, सप्ताधार, नवधा, एकादशधा हुँदै द्वादशधा विभाजनहरू चतुषष्ठि कलाका प्रतीक बन्न गएका छन् । यो अनौठो रूढ खश संस्कृतिमा सुरक्षित रही आएको छ । यसरी नै अन्य प्रकारका जाति र संस्कृतिका सांस्कृतिक छविहरू रूढ रहन सकेका छन् छैनन् विचार गर्न सकिन्छ ।

खश जातिको सांस्कृतिक निधि मानिएका 'मष्ट' को विभाजित स्वरूप पनि ब्राह्ममा आधारित पाइएको छ । सम्भवतः आदिकालमा मानवले लोकसंरक्षकको गणना गर्दा बाह्र लोकपालको परिकल्पना गर्‍यो होला । तीनलोक चौध भुवनको परिकल्पना गर्ने मानवको उर्वर मस्तिष्कले यस्तो परिकल्पना गर्नु असम्भव भएन होला । त्यसैले निराकारका प्रतीक मानिएका मष्टहरू प्रारम्भमा बाह्र भाइ थिए भन्ने बुझ्न यस रूढले सहयोग पुर्‍याउँछ ।

बाह्र भाइ मष्टमध्ये ज्येष्ठ श्रेष्ठ मष्टलाई लोकले 'आदिमष्ट' भन्दै आएको छ । यसैलाई अरू भाइका उपासकले 'बडामष्ट' भन्दछन् । बडामष्टको उच्चारण गर्न खोज्दा 'ड' ध्वनि 'र' ध्वनिमा परिणत भई वृद्धि समास भएकोले 'वाराह' हुन गएको अनुमान गरिन्छ । त्यस्तै लोकले अझ त्यतिले चित्त नबुझाएर आदिमष्ट र वाराह-मष्ट भनेका त बेग्लाबेग्लै रूप हुन् भन्ने भान पर्दा आदि र वाराह दुवैलाई एक शब्दमा जोडेर 'आदिवाराह' संज्ञा दियो । यसरी एक व्यक्ति अनेक नाम परिभाषा गर्दा 'आदिमष्ट' का अनेक थरी नामको विकास भएको बुझिन्छ । त्यसकारण पूर्वोक्त नामका अतिरिक्त पनि ढडारेमष्ट, ढाडेमष्ट, पीठेमष्ट, धौलेमष्ट, दाह्रेमष्ट आदि लोकनाम परेका छन् र विभिन्न भू-भागमा फैलेर बसेका श्रीपाली सन्ततिहरू उपर्युक्त नाममध्ये कुनै एक नामको मष्टलाई आफ्नो अभीष्ट कुलदेवता मानेर पुज्दछन् । बुझिएसम्म आदिमष्टको पूजा विधान खुला हुँदैन गुप्तागार पूजा हुन्छ ।

वस्तुतः श्रीपालीका आदिमष्टको आराधना एवं उपासनाबाट मष्टको आधारमा भएको विभाजन रोचक छ र यसले सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक विभाजनमाथि सामान्य भेद रहेको अर्थपूर्ण संकेत गर्दछ । यसरी नै पाँच समुदायमा वर्गीकृत रहेका बाह्र भाइ मष्टका सम्बन्धमा विवेचना गर्न सकिन्छ । यिनमा पनि बढी संख्या खुलाल समुदायमा पाइएको छ । अन्ततोगत्वा मष्टको आधारमा विभाजित समाजसम्बन्धी[3] चर्चापछि थरको आधारमा भएको विभाजनमाथि विवेचना गर्नु उचित र प्रासंगित हुनेछ ।

## २.१.२ थरको आधारमा भएको विभाजन

श्रीपाली सन्ततिहरू पनि अरू प्रकारका सन्तति जस्तै विभिन्न थरका रूपमा मौलाएका छन् । प्रायः थरहरू मध्यकालीन राज्य व्यवस्थाका अर्थपूर्ण अंग उपांग साथै सांस्कृतिक ऊर्जास्विताका द्योतक मानिन्छन् । यस सम्बन्धमा विस्तारपूर्वक बुझ्न प्रत्येक थरको व्युत्पत्ति र विवृत्तिबारे अलग अलग विवेचना हुन सके मात्र छर्लङ्ग हुन सक्छ, यस्ता लघु प्रयासद्वारा सम्भव हुँदैन ।

खरेलः- श्रीपाली वंशको बुढचौली थरमा 'खरेल' पर्दछ । सम्भवतः नेपाली समाज संस्कृतिको एवं मानव-शास्त्रको इतिहासमा यो प्रकीर्ण युगबोधक हुन सक्ला । स्वभावतः यस थरको उत्पत्ति खारी प्रदेशका अधिशास्ता-को नाताबाट भएको अनुमान गरिएको छ । प्रसिद्ध भाषा-शास्त्री बालकृष्ण पोखरेलको मत पनि यस मान्यतासंग सहमत रहेको छ ।[6] उहाँका अनुसार यस वंशको संप्रभुत्व खश सम्राट् आदित्यमल्लका शेषपछि समाप्त भयो । त्यस समयमा यस वंशमा आन्तरिक विभाजनका रेखा कोरिएका छन् । ती रेखालाई गृहकलहका कारक मानि-एको बुझिन्छ । त्यसैले खरेल थरमा दुई भेद पाइन्छन् । तिनमा एकथरी हत्यारा र एकथरी भुँडीफोरा कहिन्छन् । हत्यारा भनेका बन्धु बान्धवमाथि घातक हमला गर्ने र भुँडीफोरा भनेका पोलाहा भन्ने अर्थ लाग्न सक्छ । खरेलमा जस्तै भट्टराईमा पनि सामान्य भेद पाइएको छ । त्यो भेद हो थाक्रे र कसारे । तुलनात्मक अध्ययन मनन गर्दा हत्यारा र भुँडीफोरा अनि थाक्रे र कसारेको अर्थ प्रयोजन एक अर्काका निकट रहने छनक छ । जसअनुसार थाक्रे भनेका रणक्षेत्रबाट पलायन हुने पक्ष र कसारे

भनेका बोलाहातर्फ लागि उत्कच ग्रहण गर्ने पक्ष भन्ने आनिन्छ ।

काशीचल्ल र श्रीचल्लका सन्तानमा श्रीचल्लका सन्तानहरू पहिलेदेखि नै राज्यका सहायक रहेका र काशीचल्लका सन्तानहरू साम्राज्यको गद्दीका सत्तारूढ हकदार रहेका थिए । काशीचल्लका सातौं पुस्तामा आदित्यमल्ल र रिपुमल्ल दुवै प्रभावशाली व्यक्तित्व थिए भन्ने विश्वास उनीहरूका कीर्तिशेषबाट बुझिन्छ । वंशावलीबाटै विदित हुन्छ यी दुई समकालीन व्यक्तित्वहरू दुवै पराक्रमी थिए र दुवैका तेस्रो पुस्ता जन्मिसकेका थिए । जसअनुसार आदित्यमल्लका नातिको नाम प्रतापमल्ल थियो भने रिपुमल्लका नातिको नाम मोतीमल्ल थियो ।[1]

आदित्यमल्ल गद्दीनसीन छँदै उनका छोरा युवराज कल्याणमल्लको निधन भयो । बूढा राजा आदित्य नाति प्रतापमल्लको मुख हेरेर धैर्य धारणा गरी बसे । दैवयोगले नाति प्रतापमल्लको पनि असामयिक निधन भयो । बूढा राजा आदित्य नातिने ज्वाई पुण्यमल्ल (गेलाल) लाई खश साम्राज्यका गद्दीका हकदार बनाउन विवश बने । यो विवशता थियो वा स्वेच्छा थियो यही कुरा रहस्यमय बनेको छ ।

प्रतापमल्ल भिक्षुभेष धारणा गरी गएकाले खाली भएको गद्दीमा गेलाल पुण्यमल्ल बसे भन्ने केही इतिहासकारको मत पाइन्छ । परन्तु दैलेख जिल्लाको डंसुर ग्रामस्थित 'प्रताप स्मृति' नामक स्मारिकासंगै रहेको अभिलेखले त्यस मतको खण्डन गर्दछ । सो अभिलेख अनुसार प्रतापमल्लको असामयिक र दुःखद निधन भएको कारणले बूढाराजा आदित्य विक्षिप्त बने । त्यस्तै अवस्थामा पनि अश्रुविद्ध नयनसंग कुलान्त शरीर लिएर त्यस स्मारिकाको प्रतिष्ठा गर्न राजा त्यहाँ पुगेको प्रसंग त्यस अभिलेखमा अङ्कित छ ।[7] लाक्षणिक अर्थमा पृथ्वीमल्लको स्तम्भलेखको आशय पनि यस्तै बुझिन्छ— 'स स्वयं नागराजस्य नैवाशेष यदन्वयम्' भिक्षुभेष धारण गर्दैमा सन्तानहीन भन्ने अर्थ लाग्न सक्तैन र बलपूर्वक त्यस्तै अर्थ लगाइहाले तापनि सर्वमान्य हुँदैन । त्यसकारण लोकमत र बहुमत दुवै प्रतापमल्लको निधन भएकैतर्फ लाग्न सक्छ ।

अब रिपुमल्लको स्थिति बुझ्ने प्रयास गरिन्छ । आदित्यमल्ल र रिपुमल्ल दुवै साइनाका दाजुभाइ पर्दथे; यी दुवै सम्राट अशोकचल्लका नाति हुन् । जितारिमल्लकै पालामा खश साम्राज्यको जग हल्लिन थालेको थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।[8] यसको टड्कारो उदाहरण 'सिरमौर' विद्रोह भएको छ । यद्यपि जितारिमल्लले साम्राज्य जिप्साको अगाडि सानातिना आन्तरिक विरोधलाई महत्व दिएका थिएनन् भन्ने सोच्न सिरमौर विद्रोह र काठमाडौंमाथिको आक्रमणको समय करीब नगीच–नगीच भएको उदाहरणले सहयोग गर्दछ । काठमाडौंमाथि चढाइ गरी पशुपतिको दर्शन गर्ने खश राजाहरूमा जितारिमल्ल, आदित्यमल्ल, रिपुमल्ल, पुण्यमल्लको नाम उल्लेख छ ।[9] यी राजाहरू सबै शौर्य र वीर्यले परिपूर्ण र प्रतापी थिए भन्ने आभास मिल्दछ ।[10] यी सबै प्रमाण परिमेयको परिशीलनबाट बुझिन्छ जितारिमल्लका साख्य भतिजा र जालन्धरीमल्लका छोरा रिपुमल्ल पनि कम प्रभावशाली थिएनन् । साथै उनी पनि महाराजाधिराज पदवी धारण गर्न सफल थिए ।[11] यद्यपि यस सम्बन्धमा बहुतायत प्रसंगहरू मननीय हुन आउँछन् । तसर्थ विविध पक्षमा राम्ररी नकेलाइकन यथार्थ के हो त्यो भन्न गाह्रो पर्दछ ।

लुम्बिनीस्थित स्तम्भलेखको अध्ययनबाट रिपुमल्लको व्यक्तित्वबारे अरू खुल्दछ । साथै रिपुमल्लका छोरा संग्राममल्लका सम्बन्धमा समेत नवउन्मेष पाइन्छ । त्यस पछि सूर्यमल्ल, मोतीमल्ल आदि पनि स्मरणीय हुन आउँछन् । अब यहाँनिर विचार गर्न सकिन्छ जितारिमल्लको अपुताली पर्ने छाँट देखिए तापनि उनैका सहोदर भाइ जालन्धरीमल्ल (जसलाई आनन्दमल्ल पनि भनिएको छ ।[12]) का रिपुमल्ल छोरा र संग्राममल्ल लगायतका अनेक छोरा र नाति छँदाछँदै आदित्यमल्लको किन विगोत्रीलाई उत्तराधिकारी बनाए ? इतिहासका विद्यार्थीका लागि यो निकै जटिल प्रश्नसंगै प्रबल जिज्ञासा हुन सक्छ ।

आदित्यमल्लले पुण्यमल्ललाई उत्तराधिकारी चयन गर्नमा स्वेच्छा थियो वा विवशता थियो तत्सम्बन्धमा पनि विवेचना गर्नु उचित छ । यस सम्बन्धमा श्रीपाल वंशको अपुताली पर्ने निश्चय बुझेकाले आदित्यमल्लले

ज्वाई पुण्यमल्ल पाललाई विवशतावश उत्तराधिकारी चुन्ने भन्ने मतको खण्डन हुन आएको छ। खण्डनका दुई प्रवाह छन्— १. श्रीपाल वंशको अपुताली परेको थिएन; त्यसको पुष्टि श्रीपाली वंशावली, रिपुमल्लको अभिलेख,[13] सूर्यमल्लको पूर्वोक्त अभिलेख,[1] मोतीमल्ल संग्राममल्ल आदिका अस्तित्वले गर्दछ। २. आदित्यमल्लद्वारा प्रसारित पाँचाला ठाटीकाधको जग्गासम्बन्धी शाके १२४३ को ताम्रपत्रको अन्तमा उत्कीर्ण 'आ' र 'पु' अङ्कित चिह्न अनुसार आदित्यमल्ल र पुण्यमल्लको पहिलेदेखि नै भित्री साँठगाँठ थियो। प्रकटमा आदित्यमल्ल रिपुमल्लको हुँदो मान्दथे तापनि भित्र-भित्रै भाइ बन्धु मासेर राज्याधिकार छोरी ज्वाईतर्फ जाओस् भन्ने पक्षमा थिए।

आदित्यमल्लकालीन साम्राज्यको शासन दुल्लुबाट हुन्थ्यो भन्ने प्रमाणको पुष्टि हुँदै आएको छ।[13] त्यसो हुँदा सिजामा तत्काल प्रान्तीय शासक नियुक्त भएको हुनुपर्छ। किनभने बढ्दो साम्राज्यको संरक्षणका लागि स्थानमा प्रान्तीय शासकहरू राखिनु अपेक्षित थियो र त्यस प्रान्तीय शासकमा अक्सर राजकुमार, रावत र कार्कीहरू नियुक्त हुन्थे भन्ने झलक जितारिमल्ल गद्दीनसीन छँदैमा अक्षयमल्लको प्रभुत्व देखापरेको घटनाबाट मिल्दछ। यति मात्र हैन पूर्वावस्थामा क्राधिचल्लको शासन छँदैमा छोरा क्राचल्ल र नाति अशोकचल्लको प्रभुत्व थियो भन्ने संकेत पाइनु अनि अशोकचल्ल जीवित छँदैमा छोरा जितारिमल्लको र नाति अक्षयमल्लको शासन चल्नु, प्रभुत्व देखिनु आदि दृष्टान्तहरू ताजा छन्।[14] अन्ततोगत्वा यस्तै विवेचनाको आधारबाट मनन गर्न सकिन्छ कि ग्रीष्मकालीन राजधानी सिजा र शीतकालीन राजधानी सुर्खेत थिए। दुल्लू समशितोष्ण जलवायु भएकोले सदाकालका लागि उपयुक्त मानिनु सर्वथा उपयुक्त नै थियो।

दुल्लूस्थित साम्राज्यको गद्दीमा आदित्यमल्ल शासनारूढ छँदा सुर्खेतमा आनन्दमल्ल (जालन्धरीमल्ल) र सिजामा रिपुमल्ल शासनारुढ हुनुपर्छ। सुर्खेतमा आनन्दमल्लको अभिलेख र सिजामा रिपुमल्लको अभिलेख पाइएकोले यो अनुमान सत्यताका निकट पुग्ने सम्भावना छ। शाके १२४४ को आनन्दमल्लको अभिलेखसंगै सुर्खेतको अथाह भग्नावशेष धराशायी रहेको छ। चौघानपाटा, मंगलगढी, काक्रेविहार, गोठीकाणा आदि भग्नावशेषहरूको अध्ययनबाट अनुभव गर्न सकिन्छ यो भग्नावशेष बाह्य आक्रमणको निशाना हो, दैवी विप्लवको निशाना होइन। त्यस्तै शाके १२६० अनुमान गरिएको सिजा–लामाथाडा भग्नावशेषस्थित जरुवा ढुङ्गामा उत्कीर्ण रिपुमल्लका अभिलेख र त्यस अथाह भग्नावशेषले पनि सिजाको प्रान्तीय शासकमा रिपुमल्ल थिए भन्ने अनुमानको पुष्टि हुन्छ। साथै लगभग ६ किलोमिटर जति क्षेत्रमा फैलिएको मृत–शहरको स्मारिकाले स्पष्ट गर्दछ। साथै अध्येतालाई यो पनि प्रतीत हुनेछ कि यो भग्नावशेष पनि कुनै आक्रमणको शिकार भएको हो।

अन्ततोगत्वा इत्यादि मन्थनले के सिद्ध गर्दछ भने गद्दीका हकदार श्रीपालीहरूलाई परास्त गरेर अथवा मासेर गद्दी हत्याउने सल्लाह भित्री रूपबाट आदित्यमल्लले पुण्यमल्ललाई दिएका थिए त्यसो हुँदा शाके १२४३–४४ उप्रान्त शाके १२६० का बीचको अवधिमा आदित्यमल्ल र रिपुमल्लका बीचमा वैमनस्य उब्जेकोले पुण्यमल्लको शक्तिले रिपुमल्लका सन्तान मासेको हुनुपर्छ। त्यसै दुर्दैवी घटनाले गर्दा पूर्वोक्त थरमा त्यस प्रकारका विभेद खडा भएको अनुभव गरिन्छ।

कार्की:– यो थर मध्यकालीन राज्यव्यवस्थाको पाँचौं संवैधानिक अङ्ग मानिन्थ्यो। यसभन्दा माथिका पदहरू यस्ता थिए– कुमार, अधिकारी, सामन्त र अडै। अडैपछिको अधीकरण प्रमुख पद कार्की थियो। त्यसैले गर्दा मध्यकालीन अभिलेखहरूमा व्यक्त राजकीय प्रशस्तीहरू यस प्रकार पढिन्छन्:– 'स्वस्तिश्री —थर्पुका अधिकारी, सामन्त, अडै, कार्की, रावत, खड्काह, श्रीमन्त, उमराव, थापा, महरा, रोक्काय, बोहरा संभुप्रति सुनान्।। राइका भाष।।' यस्ता प्रशस्ती र अध्यादेशको मननबाट बोध हुन आउँछ कुनै थर्पुका सर्वेसर्वा पदाधिकारीमा कार्की नियुक्ति हुन्थे र कार्की पदको नियुक्ति परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज बाट मात्र हुन्थ्यो अनि त्यस प्रकारका नियुक्तिका अवसरमा कुमार, अधिकारी, सामन्त र अडैहरू रोहबरमा राखिन्थे। अरू अरू थर्पुका कार्की र राज्यभरका रावत, खड्का, श्रीमन्त, थापा, बोहरा महरा आदिलाई नयाँ शासक नियुक्तिको औपचारिक नियुक्तिको जानकारी गराइन्थ्यो। कट्टेल र मिश्र थर पेशागत बुझिन्छन्।

कार्कीहरू पनि अरू केही थर जस्तै पाँच प्रकारका पाइएका छन् । जस्तो:– श्रीपाली, सुतार, खुलाल, मुडुला र जूगाडी । तिनमध्ये श्रीपाली कार्की अरूभन्दा पुरानो हो भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणित हुन आएको छ । परन्तु श्रीपाली कार्कीको पर्यायमा मौलाएका ठानिएका जूगाडी र लामा कार्कीहरू गोत्रद्वारा भिन्न भएका छन् । श्रीपाली कार्कीले आत्मपरिचय दिंदा 'ल.माकार्की' भन्नमा कुनै ऐतिहासिक कारण हुन सक्छ । यस कारणको खोजीनीति हुन सकेमा नेपाली संस्कृतिमा नवोन्मेष मिल्दो हो । यद्यपि गोत्र सहित अरू आधार भने श्रीपाली मूलमा जस्तो हुनु पर्दथ्यो तद्वत् नै देखिन्छ ।

शाके १००५ मा जूगाडा राज्यको कार्की पदमा नियुक्त पाएका श्रीपाली पण्डित जसुपाध्या थरै कार्कीमा परिणत भएपछि के कति कारणले हो पाराशर गोत्र त्यागी काश्यप गोत्र ग्रहण गरे । सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिले यो घटना पनि अन्वेषणीय हुनसक्छ ।

रावत वा राउल, राउत:– यो थर वर्तमान राज खलकका चौतरीया अथवा साहेबज्यू जस्तै बुझिन्छ । यस अनुमानको आधार भाषाशास्त्र हो । भाषाशास्त्री जयशंकर जोशीले यस शब्दको व्युत्पत्तिमूलक व्याख्या गर्दा यही कुरा दर्शाउनु भएको छ ।[15] यस थरको अस्तित्व पनि पूर्वोक्त पाँचै समुदायमा रहेको छ ।

खड्का:– (खड्गबाहक—खड्गाह) मध्यकालीन राज्यव्यवस्थाका सैनिक सङ्गठनको तालिका यस प्रकार थियो– कुमार, अडै, कार्की, उमराव, खडका, महरा, थापा र दोहरा । अधिकार प्रत्यायोजन–क्रममा मनन गर्दा प्रधान सेनापतिको पद राजकुमारमा निहित रहःथ्यो । कुनै कुनै राजाका पालामा वा राजा बढी उदार भएमा त्यो अधिकार अधिकारी वा अमात्यमा पनि जान्थ्यो । यसको पुष्टि सम्राट् पृथ्वीमल्लका महामात्य यशोब्रह्म छत्यालको सम्मानित मर्यादा बोधबाट गर्न सकिन्छ । जग्गा जग्गामा पाइएका यशोब्रह्मका अभिलेखहरूले यस कुराको साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् । अन्ततः नियाल्दै जाँदा खँड्काको तात्पर्य गुल्मपति वा शस्त्रागारको प्रमुख पद थियो भन्ने जनिन्छ ।

बस्नेत:– श्रीपाली मूलका जूगाडी कार्कीले जस्तै बस्नेत र खड्काले समेत गोत्र परिवर्तन गरेको देखियो । प्रस्रवणको हिसाबले प्रायः श्रीपालीहरू पाराशर्य र वाशिष्ठमा समेटिन्छन् । तर के कति कारणले हो श्रीपाली बस्नेतहरूले भारद्वाज गोत्र चलाएको पाइन्छ । त्यस्तै श्रीपाली खड्काहरू जो अचेल आफूलाई 'पँवारखडका' भनेर चिनाउँछन् पनि कपिल गोत्र र पञ्चप्रवरान्त बताउँछन् । श्रीपाली खँडकाले जस्तो गोत्र फेरेको चाहिं देखिएको छैन तथापि वंशमा भने श्रीपाली विष्ट पनि 'पँवारविष्ट' भन्न लागेका छन् । गोत्र र मष्ट तथा श्रीपाली इष्ट देवीमा भने अन्तर देख पाइएको छैन । यिनै बिष्टमध्ये केहीले अचेल 'धाडा-कोटेबिष्ट' पनि भन्न थालेका छन् ।

बस्नेत पद मध्यकालीन राज्यव्यवस्थामा दरबारसम्बन्धी मुद्दा मामिला हेर्ने र तदनकूल निर्णय पाउने पद थियो बुझिन्छ । वश् धातुको आत्मनेपदी लट् लकारमा हुने प्रथम पुरुषको बहुवचन 'वसन्ते' को वर्ण व्यत्यय भई 'बस्नेत' हुन आएको अनुमान गरिन्छ । निष्कर्षको निम्ति उपयुक्त अनुशीलन हुनु आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

बिष्ट:– बिष्ट शब्द पनि कार्की जस्तो प्रशासकीय पद थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । विषयपति (प्रमुख जिल्ला अधिकारी) जनाउने पद 'बिष्टप' वा 'बिष्टपा' को घर्षित रूप हुन सम्भव छ । बिष्टपाको लौकिक अर्थ 'लोकनायक' बनिन्छ ।

श्रीमन्त वा श्रृणोत मध्यकालीन राज्यव्यवस्थाको धार्मिक अधिकरण प्रमुखलाई 'श्रीमन्त, श्रृणोत वा महन्त' भनिन्थ्यो भन्ने आभास प्रदत्त अधिकारका प्रयोजनको व्याख्याद्वारा मिल्दछ । कालान्तरमा थी तीनवटै रूपहरू लोकव्यवहारमा रहेका पाइन्छन् । परन्तु श्रीमन्तहरू अचेल 'महत' बोलिन्छन् र कतै कुनै धार्मिक पीठसंग सम्बन्धित रहेका देखिएको छैन । तर 'महन्त'को प्रयोजन भने पूर्ववत् कायम रहेको अनुभव गर्न नसकिने होइन तापनि कतै कतैको समाजमा सन्यासी गृहस्थलाई समेत महन्त सम्बोधन गरेको पाइएकोले यसो भन्नु पनि धर्मरै छ । श्रृणोतहरू आफूलाई ठकुरी ठान्दछन् र

भारद्वाज गोत्र चलाउँछन् ।

राज्यव्यवस्थाको धर्माधीकरणसंग सम्बद्ध महत, श्रृणोत र महन्त जस्तै अर्को थर छ 'महरा' केही समाजशास्त्रीका मतमा 'मलहोत्रा' को विकृत रूप महरा हो भन्ने रहे तापनि यो मत सर्वमान्य हुनु सम्भव देखिदैन । किनभने 'मलहोत्रा' नेपाली निजस्वका निकट होइन पञ्जाबी निजस्वका निकट रहेको बुझिन्छ । परन्तु महरा विशुद्ध नेपाली निजस्व हो । प्रारम्भमा महराहरू राज्यव्यवस्थाको पशुधनमा लाग्ने 'त्रिकर' का नियन्त्रक प्रमुख पदाधिकारी मानिन्थे । कालान्तरमा बहुधा समाजमा महराहरू 'महरा' नै बोलिन्छन् र क्षेत्रीमा गनिन्छन् । कुनै कुनै समाजका विधिवेत्ताहरू चलन व्यवहारले 'मगर' बोलिन्छन् । तसर्थ त्यस्तो परिवर्तन कुन शताब्दीमा भएको थियो सो खोजीको विषय भएको छ ।

श्रीपाली बोहरा, श्रीपाली साउँद, श्रीपाली रोकाया, श्रीपाली थापा, श्रीपाली राउत, श्रीपाली बूढाथोकी, श्रीपाली बम्म, श्रीपाली चलाउने, श्रीपाली अहिर, श्रीपाली ऐरा (शिकारी वा शहकारी) बहुधा अद्यावधि यथावत् छन् तथापि थापा र बूढाथोकीमा विकल्पले दुई रूप चलेको पाइन्छ । जस्तो थापाको एक बलो आफूलाई 'सुयल थापा' भन्दछ भने एक बलो 'घर्ती थापा' भन्दछ । त्यस्तै बूढाथोकीमा पनि एक थरी बूढाथोकी, एक थरी 'बूढा' मात्र, एक थरी बखेती र एक थरी 'माझी' लेखछन् । अरू कुरा यथावत् देखिन्छ । कट्टी गाउँका बिर्तावार कट्टेल कहिन्छन् ।

## २.२ परिवर्तनका केही सामान्य कारणहरू

बम्म बाहेक अरू थरका व्युत्पत्ति र विग्रहबारे केही गवेषण गर्ने काम भयो । बम्म थरको व्युत्पत्ति गर्न बाँकी छ । एक क्षण त्यो कार्य बाँकी नै रहोस् । त्यसलाई यथाप्रसंग गवेषण गर्ने प्रण गर्दै पूर्वोक्त विभाजनका सामान्य कारणबारे प्रकाश पार्ने प्रयास गर्नु कर्तव्य भएको छ । पूर्वोक्त गवेषणद्वारा बोध हुन आयो श्रीपालीहरूमा कसैमा आमूल औ कसैमा अंशतः परिवर्तन भएको दिग्दर्शन हुन्छ । कसैको थर फेरिनु, कसैको गोत्र फेरिनु, कसैको वंश फेरिनु औ कसैको जातै फेरिनु र कसैको प्रस्रवण क्षेत्र नै फेरिनु जस्ता घटना किन घटे होलान् ! यो बडो चाखको विषय भएको छ । घोरिदै जाँदा यी सबै घटनाहरू करीबमा घटे होलान् भन्न गाह्रो भएको छ । किनभने प्राचीन श्रीपाल राजधानीको संरचना कुन शताब्दीताक भएको होला ठीक ठीक बताउन कठिन छ । कठिन नहोस सही तथ्य पत्ता लगाउन निश्चय नै दुरुह छ । यद्यपि श्रीपाल राजधानीको धराशायी खण्डोहरको सिंहावलोकन एवं अध्ययन मननबाट यस्तो अनुमान गरिएको छ । सम्भवतः यस राज्यको स्थापना अग्निपूजक खशगणका उन्नायकहरूले लगभग विक्रमीय पाँचौं शताब्दीका प्रारम्भतिर गरेको हुनुपर्छ जो पछिका सूर्यपूजक उन्नायक भनौं यस प्रसंगका विवेच्य वंश शिरोमणि नागराजले आफ्ना कार्यकालमा सुसम्पन्न गराएर सभ्य नगरको रूप दिए । यारी र खारीस्थित अथाह भग्नावशेषले यस्तै सूचित गर्दछन् ।

अन्ततोगत्वा लगभग पन्ध्र सोह्र सय वर्षको अन्तरालमा यस भू-खण्डमा कैयौं युगान्तकारी परिवर्तन भए । कति दुर्दमनीय शक्ति उदाए र अस्ताए । कतिपयको त इतिहास लोप भयो होला । त्यसकारण देखिनआएका पूर्वोक्त परिवर्तनका साना ठूला कारणहरू आश्चर्यप्रद नहोलान् भन्ने हाम्रो धारणा रहेको छ ।

वस्तुतः पूर्वोक्त परिवर्तनमध्ये 'खरेल' थरको धारणामा प्रस्रवणकै परिवर्तन दृष्टिगत भएकोले तत्सम्बन्धमा केही प्रकाश पार्नु लाभदायक हुनेछ । खशजातिका गायावर्य प्रक्रिया अन्तर्गत सर्वान्तिम नभए पनि पूर्वमध्यकालका करीबमा भएको गण विभाजनको प्रकार दुई थियो– १. पूर्वाञ्चलीय र २. कूर्माञ्चलीय । यी दुइवटा विभाजनले सभ्यता र संस्कृतिको विकासमा वर्णनातीत योगदान पुऱ्याएका छन् र मानव सभ्यताका प्रकारान्तरका बारेमा समेत अभूतपूर्व कीर्तिमान कायम गरेका छन् भन्ने आत्मविश्वास जागृत हुँदैछ । यस विभाजनभन्दा पूर्वको एकरसतामाथि यस विभाजनले जे जस्तो विविधता प्रदान गरेको छ त्यो नितराम

विवेचनीय हुनसक्छ ।[5] तथापि तत्काल त्यता नलागौं र केवल संकेत मात्र गरौं कि चित्राल र जालन्धरको प्रवेशपछि खश जातिलाई बढ्दो संख्याको अनुपातमा पर्याप्त भू–मण्डलको खाँचो पर्न आयो । त्यस खाँचो पूरा गर्न दुई राज्यको परिकल्पना गरियो । जो देवभूमि र दानवभूमि जस्ता नभए पनि समानधर्मीका निर्वाहका खातिर पनि दुई राज्यको परिकल्पना गर्न पऱ्यो; गरियो । ती दुई राज्यको नाम राखियो पूर्वदेश अथवा पूर्वाञ्चल र कूर्मदेश अथवा कूर्माञ्चल । देश र अञ्चल समकालीन हुन् भन्न जति कठिन पर्न अनुमान गरिन्छ त्यस्तै ती दुई शब्द यति अगि–पछिका व्यवहारका हुन् भनेर किट्ने झन् कठिन पर्दछ । यद्यपि भाषिक दृष्टिले यसो भन्न मिल्दछ यी दुवै शब्द आयात गरिएका वा बाहिरागत होइनन्, देशज हुन् ।

बस्तुतः संस्कृत शब्द 'देश' र अञ्चललाई देशज शब्द मात्र भाषिक दृष्टिले अपभ्रंशकालभन्दा पूर्व जानु पर्न हुन्छ । स्वभावतः व्यक्त गर्न चाहेको मत पनि त्यही हो । मानक स्थिरताको लक्ष्मणरेखा एउटै दीर्घामा पर्न जान्छ – भाषिक घटना अपभ्रंशकाल र राजनीतिक घटना प्राचीनकाल तथा मध्यकालको अन्तर । यो युगान्तर जातीय उद्गम तथा विस्तार-को इतिहाससंग पनि मिल्न आउँछ । त्यसो हुँदा खारी प्रदेशमा प्रद्योतवंशी पुरुषहरू आएर सत्ता सह्याल्दाको आधिकारिक घटना विरेचन प्राचीनकालको अन्तिम चरणतिर मानिएको छ र यो पनि सर्वमान्य भएको छ कि खारी प्रदेश पूर्वदेशमा पर्दथ्यो ।[6] त्यसहिसाबले प्राचीनकालको अन्तिम चरणतिर खारी प्रदेशमा शासनारुढ हुन पुगेका प्रद्योतवंशीहरू स्वतः पूर्वदेशका अर्थात् पूर्वाञ्चलीय मूलका मानिन्छन् र उनीहरू बशिष्ट गोत्र तीन प्रवर चलाउँछन् । तुल्य बलाबलमा त्यसै कालका कूर्माञ्चलीय मूलका बशिष्ट गोत्रीहरू पाँच प्रवर चलाउँछन् । वश्, यस आधारबाट खरेलहरू पूर्वीया हुन् भन्ने बुझिन्छ । तर बुझेसम्म खरेलहरू आफूलाई 'कुमाई' ठानी पहिलेदेखि कुमाईसंगै बिहाबारी गर्दै आएका छन् । जो अनुसन्धेय छ ।

## २.३ श्रीपालको बम्म सन्तति

पूर्वोक्त व्याख्या एवं विवेचनामार्फत् बोध हुन आयो श्रीपाली समुदायमा खरेल, भट्टराई, भट्ट, चालिसे, खराल, कराल, दुवाडी, कार्की, रावत वा राउत रावल, खड्का, महरा, बोहरा, महत, थापा, बिष्ट, खाती, महन्त, बम्म, शृणोत, बस्नेत, बूढा र बूढाथोकी आदि पर्दछन् । साथै यस समुदायको बसोबास नेपाल अधिराज्यका विभिन्न भू-भाग सहित नेपाल बाहिरका नेपाली बसेका मुलुकहरूमा समेत उत्तिकै फैलिएका छन् । तसर्थ श्रीपाली समुदायका अध्ययन विवृत्तिको परिपूर्णताको दृष्टिले उक्त सबै थरको उत्पत्ति र बिस्तारबारे जानकारी प्राप्त गर्नु लाभदायक हुने हो । यो अपरिहार्य सत्य हो भन्ने ज्ञान्दाज्ञान्दै पनि समभावले नै मानियोस् सही यस प्रसंगमा बम्म सन्ततिकै बारेमा मात्रै विवेचना गरिदैछ ।

वर्तमान अवस्थामा श्रीपाली बम्मका कथा र व्यथा आफ्नै प्रकारका छन् भन्ने अनुभव गरिन्छ । यस वंशले विगतमा सुखका चरमोत्कर्ष र उन्नतिका दीपशिखा भोगेको छ भने अवनतिको दारुण विपत्ति र दुःखका पराकाष्ठा भोगेको इतिहासमाथि पनि सद्यतन दृष्टि पर्दछन् । ती सुख–दुःख र उन्नति अवनतिका ध्रुवीकरणमाथि विहंगावलोकन गर्दै वंशावलीले सभ्यताका विभिन्न मोडमाथि प्रकाश पार्न गरेको योगदान स्तुत्य हुनसक्छ । तथापि विक्रमको नवौं शताब्दी पूर्वका कथा र व्यथाहरू एक समुदाय वा एक जातिका मात्र पेवा थिए भन्न मिल्दैन, नितराम विश्वका बहुधा क्षेत्रमा फैलिन पुगेका खशादि सहधर्मी जातिका साझा सम्पदाका रूपमा स्वागत गरिन्छन् । त्यसउसले नवौं शताब्दी पूर्वका कथा र व्यथाबारे क्षणिक अनुमानमात्र लगाउन सकिन्छ । परन्तु श्रीपालमा सम्राट् नागराजको उदय भएपछिका घटनाहरू भने प्रायः इतिहास सम्मत भएकाले सार संक्षेपमा भएपनि नीरक्षीर विवेचना गर्न सकिन्छ–

श्रीपालीको वंशावली र सम्राट् नागराजको उदय एवं कर्णाली प्रदेशमा खश साम्राज्यको जग बसेपछि यो प्रभुसत्ता कायम रहँदासम्मको अवधिलाई यस वंशको निम्ति सुखको चरमोत्कर्ष मान्न सकिन्छ । परन्तु जब विक्रमीय चौधौं शताब्दीको अन्ततिर यस वंशको प्रभुत्व पतनोन्मुख अवस्थामा पुग्यो तबदेखि भने

यस वंशले सत्तारुढ पक्षबाट बराबर ताडना, भर्त्सना, उपेक्षा, प्रपीडन र वंचन जस्ता दारुण विपत्तिहरू भोग्नु परेको बुझिन्छ । यस्तो अनुभव गर्न अवसर प्रदान गर्नमा यस्तै प्राप्तिहरू सहायक हुन आउँछन् । जस्तो यस वंशको ज्येष्ठता 'खरेल' थरमा आश्रित एक भ्रान्त धारणा मनाक मननीय हुन आउँछ साथै जो सर्वथा विवेच्य महसूस हुन्छ ।[13]

खरेलहरूमा पूर्वोक्त विभाजनले दुई फ्याक लगाए-पछि श्रीपाली नामधारीहरूमा भयंकर ठूलो विपत्तिको बादल मडराएको अनुभव गरिन्छ । जस्तो बीचमा कसैले आफूलाई श्रीपाली दाबी गर्न खरेलहरू आफूलाई 'कुमाई' भन्न विवश बने भने बम्म वा वर्माहरू राज-खलक दावी गर्न नपाउने गरी 'खाती' हुन मञ्जुर गरे । राजखलक वा ठकुरी प्रजातिसंग सोलीडाली गर्न नपाइने, कुनै खातीले फ्लेर, झुक्याएर वा बलपूर्वक ठकुरीकी मैया लिएको खण्डमा अरूलेभन्दा डबल चाक-चकुई 'शाही खत' बुझाउनु पर्ने अनि कतिपयले भयभीत भएर गोत्र त्याग्ने, आस्पद त्याग्ने, अस्मिता त्यागी दिनुपर्ने जस्ता ह्रासोन्मुखी प्रक्रियाहरू घट्न गएको बुझिन्छ ।[1]

पन्ध्रौं शताब्दीपछि कतिपय थरहरू परिवर्तित भएका र कतिपय थरहरू यतातत्र बसाइ सरेकाले आपसमा जो जस्तो मित्यो त्यो भिन्न रूपमा विवेचनीय हुन जाला । यद्यपि बम्महरू भने पूर्वोक्त विवेचना अनुसार तत्तत् स्थानमा नै रजावली मर्यादादेखि च्युत गराइएका घटनासंग परिचित हुन पुगिएको छ । जस अनुसार संवत् १९९५–९६ सालतिर यिनीहरूले राणा-शासकमार्फत श्री ५ को सरकार समक्ष पहिले आफूमाथि घटेको घटना सारांशमा जाहेर गरी प्रायश्चित गराई मागेको र तत्कालीन सरकार प्रमुखका हुकुमले पुनः ठकुरी व्यवहारमा सामेल भएको बुझिन्छ ।[11]

पूर्वोक्त घटनापछि वर्तमान अवस्थामा श्रीपाली 'बम्म' हरूको स्थान पूर्णरूपेण ठकुरी समाजसंग सरीवरी रहेको देखिन्छ । बस्नेतहरू दोहोरो व्यवहार गर्न सफल छन् । यसो भन्नुको मतलब हो बस्नेतहरू ताक मिलेको खण्डमा ठकुरी समाजसंग पनि विहाबरी लिनदिन गरेका छन् र अरू झर्रा क्षत्रीयहरूसंग पनि पूर्ववत् विहाबरी साइनु सनहे राखी आएकै छन् । अरू थरको थिति-रीति यथावत् छ ।

## २.४ बम्म : पुस्तावली

कुशावर्तदेखि पूर्व बढेका खश सन्ततिमध्येका वाशिष्ठ, पाराशर एवं काश्यप र पारद्वत गोत्रीहरू भित्रका श्रीपाली सन्तानहरूमा उपलब्ध नामावलीको आधारमा निम्न संख्या पुग्दछ–

[ स्रोत– रजवार लालबहादुर बम्मका अनुसार ]

आदिकाल– १. महर्षि कश्ययदेखि प्रद्योतसम्म २१ पुस्ता (दानसिंह स्रोत)

प्राचीनकाल– २. प्रद्योतानुवंश- १. सगर २. अंशुमान ३. प्रतिमन ४. सत्यवान ५. सत्रवायु ६. प्रद्योत ७. प्रतीम ८. फति ९. ताउ १०. तोमर ११. मिहिर १२. दुरुह १३. कुलान्तक १४. तोर-मान १५. प्रतिज्ञा १६. तांगूर १७. जिम्भल १८. नाभा १९. कपिसा २०. उद्बत २१. सुहोत २२. प्रतोक २३. पहुत २४. चाचु २५. सिराय, चच — २५.

उत्तर प्राचीनकाल– १. चचका दासर २. आदित्य ३. भोज. ४. दास ५. दुल्लभ ६. दुम्भिक ७. तामु ८. जेली ९. जीहड १०. सुस ११. भागु १२. राइमल १३. मरु १४. कीर्ति-मान १५. द्युतिमान १६. मरुतमान १७. सुदेव १८. श्रीदेव १९. जाव २०. नाभ— २० पुस्ता ।

कूल २१+२५+२०=६६

माध्यमिक काल– १. बडाराजा नागराज २. चाप ३. चापिल्ल ४. खराचल्ल ५. क्राधि-चल्ल ६. काशीचल्ल, श्रीचल्ल

७. श्रीचल्लका राजल्ल ८. भामल्ल ९. श्रीमल्ल, बरमल्ल १०. श्रीमल्लका श्रीचन बर्म्मा ११. कालु बर्म्मा, दाखुबर्म्मा, बागुबर्म्मा १२. बागुका चतुर बम्म १३. हरिताल बम्म १४. अजैपालबम्म १५. विजयपालबम्म १६. शक्तिबम्म १७. सारिनबम्म १८. नरसिंहबम्म १९. नरपालबम्म २०. उदैबम्म २१. वीरबम्म २२. धीरबम्म २३. संसारीबम्म २४. चन्द्रबम्म २५ इन्द्रबम्म २६. विशुद्धबम्म, विज्ञानबम्म, सारूबम्म, दशरथबम्म समेत २६ पुस्ता ।

उत्तर मध्यकाल— १. विशुद्धबम्मका वसन्तबम्म २. प्रीतिबम्म ३. सुरजितबम्म ४. सुदत्त बम्म ५. कालीबम्म ६ विशुद्धबम्म ७. विक्रमजितवम्म ८. हटिबम्म — ८ पुस्ता ।

१. हटिबम्मका नरिबम्म, रतिबम्म, बिर्छामबम्म, छुरीबम्म । २. नरिबम्मका कालीबम्म खाती, रति सारिन, सारु खाती ।

२+८+२६+६६=१०२ पुस्ता ।

आधुनिककाल—

१०२+१. कालु खातीका सिगारुबम्म खाती २. हित्तिम खाती, सुक्रिम खाती, साक्रम खाती र सुन्दरे खाती । छोरी सुनकेशरा—जुम्ला छिनासीमका राजा विक्रम शाहीको पटरानी ।[16]

१०३+३. सुक्रिम भनेका सिंहमल्लका—बझाङ डिलकोटिली दार्चुला हुति र पारूतर्फ रहन्छन् ।

१०३+३. साक्रम भनेका सिउमल खातीका हासीम खाती, कालीम खाती ।

१०४—४. कालीम खातीका नरिभान खाती । १०५. धिम्रा खाती १०६. माना खाती १०७. सुन्दर खाती, विजुम खाती १०८. विजुमका वरुन खाती, प्रताप खाती बम्म १०९. प्रतापका जैतुबम्म, हंसुबम्म, जसीबम्म ११०. जैतुका जिवावम्म १११ पठानसिंहबम्म ११२. पुनिमलबम्म, शकुनिबम्म । शकुनिबम्मका जाजरकोट भीउसकोटतर्फ रहन्छन् । ११३. पुनिमलका प्रीतिमल बम्म ११४. चन्द्रमल बम्म । थिर्पु । ११०. हंसु बम्मका हरिमल बम्म १११. जोरासिंह बम्म, मैतु बम्म, मैतु बम्मका सन्तान सुरखेत सिम्तादरा—दुपालाचौरतर्फ रहन्छन् थाप बोलिन्छन् ।

११२. जोरासिंहका भूपतिबम्म ११३. भीयाबम्म ११४. सिंहमल बम्म ११५. शक्तिबम्म, सुवीबम्म ।

बडाराजा नागराजदेखि छब्बीसौं पुस्ताका विशुद्धबम्मका सन्तानको लेखो सकियो । अब यस अगाडि दशरथ बम्मका सन्तानको लेखो गरिन्छ ।

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९३. दशरथबम्मका शुकदेवबम्म ९४. चितुबम्म ९५. वासुदेव बम्म ९६. केशरिबम्म ९७. विशुद्धबम्म, उदयबम्म । ९८. विशुद्धका हाँसुबम्म ९९. सुर्यबम्म १००. पर्छाम बम्म १०१. हितुबम्म १०२. अजितबम्म १०३. बालाजितबम्म १०४. अमृतबम्म । यी सन्तानहरू पलातादरामध्ये मिजुबाडा, खीनगाउँ र उखाडीतर्फ रहन्छन् । अमृतबम्मपछिका पुस्ताको नाम जानिएन । उदयबम्मका सन्तानहरू वझाङ, श्रीपाल, यारी नाकांतर्फ रहन्छन् । नाम जानिएन ।

थिर्पु रजवारबाडा:

१०५. सुन्दरे खातीका सज्ञान खाती, अमृत खाती, जनकसिंह खाती ।
१०६. अमृतका बहुन्त, बखन्त, लखन्त खाती ।
१०७. बखन्तका श्यामराज खाती
१०८. ईश्वरे
१०९. लड्डु

११०. बद्री, बलरूप ।
१११. बद्रीका रणभीम खाती, कर्नभीम खाती ।
११२. कर्नभीमका जयबहादुर बम्म ।
११२. रनभीमका सत्तलसिंह बम्म ।
११३. पद्मबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. त्रिष्णुबहादुर बम्म, नरजंग बम्म, लीलासिंह बम्म ।
११५. बलरूपका जसबहादुर बम्म, नरबहादुर बम्म, सर्बबहादुर बम्म, पृथ्वीबहादुर बम्म, चक्रबहादुर बम्म, कालीबहादुर बम्म ।
११२. जसबहादुरका हेमबहादुर बम्म, दानबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. दानबहादुरका प्रीतमबहादुर बम्म ।
११२. नरबहादुरका हंसबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. रतनबहादुर बम्म ।
११२. पृथ्वीबहादुरका ललितचन्द्र बम्म ।
१०६. जनकसिंहका चैतरिबम्म, आशकरिबम्म, जसिबम्म, बलालबम्म, सुजिमबम्म, सिंहनबम्म, शीतलुबम्म, कुमारूबम्म ।
१०७. कुमारूका रुदुबम्म, चन्द्रभानबम्म ।
१०८. रुदुका टोटासिंहबम्म, हरिबम्म, जियाबम्म, जैतुबम्म ।
१०९. टोटासिंहका जयरूपबम्म, चन्द्रमलबम्म, निर्मलबम्म, मानबहादुर बम्म ।
११०. जयरूपका धौलाबम्म, रनसुरबम्म ।
१११. धौलाका कैलुबम्म ।
११२. नन्दबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. लोकबहादुर बम्म, रजबहादुर बम्म ।
१११. रनसुरका सर्वजित बम्म (नायक – थिर्पुबाडा)
११२. बज्रबहादुर बम्म, गोपालबम्म ।
११३. गोपालका आकाशीबम्म ।
१११. चन्द्रमलका रतिभानबम्म, चुत्रीभानबम्म, राजमलबम्म ।
११२. रतिभानका रनदीपबम्म, हरिदलबम्म, दलजितबम्म
११३. दलजितकी छोरी शारदा शाही ।
१११. निर्मलका बागदलबम्म ।
११२. धनसुरबम्म ।
११३. खम्बसिंह बम्म ।
११४. शमरबहादुर बम्म ।
१०९. हरिबम्मका तुलुसिंहबम्म, तुथुबम्म, विसकबम्म ।
११०. तुलुसिंहका दधिबम्म ।
१११. शतवरबम्म ।
११२. शयनबम्म, नौलाबम्म ।
११३. शयनबम्मका सारंगबम्म, सूर्यमलबम्म, सदनबम्म, गजेन्द्रबम्म, रंगमनबम्म ।
११४. सारंगका सत्तलसिंह बम्म ।
११५. कालुबम्म, आडुबम्म ।
११६. कालुका मोहनबीर बम्म ।
११७. मटराजबम्म ।
११६. आडुका सर्बजितबम्म, परिमलबम्म ।
११७. सर्बजितका खड्गजंगबम्म ।
११७. परिमलका गम्भीरसिंहबम्म ।
११४. सदनबम्मका दलवीरबम्म ।
११५. लालबहादुरबम्म, जंगबहादुरबम्म, जगतबहादुरबम्म ।
११६. लालबहादुरका खड्गबहादुर बम्म, गोविन्दबहादुर बम्म, अंगबहादुर बम्म, कर्मसिंह बम्म ।
११६. जंगबहादुरका धर्मसिंह बम्म, ध्वजवीर बम्म ।
११७. ध्वजवीरका अजवीर बम्म, धनमानसिंह बम्म, दत्तबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. जगतबहादुरका रणोद्दीप बम्म, दलसुर बम्म ।
११७. रणोद्दीपका रकमबहादुर बम्म, शत्रुघ्नसिंह बम्म, तखतबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. दलसुरका पूर्णबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. सूर्यमलका मानवीरबम्म, राममलबम्म, रंगमलबम्म ।
११५. मानवीरका जयबहादुरबम्म, हंसराजबम्म ।
११५. राममलका ज्योतिसिंह बम्म, मोतीसिंह बम्म, धनसिंहबम्म ।
११६. ज्योतिका प्रीतिदल बम्म ।
११६. मोतीका रतनसिंह बम्म, रत्नबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. धनसिंहका प्रीतिबहादुर बम्म, राजबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. रंगमलका पद्मबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. भीमबहादुरबम्म, अर्जुनबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. गजेन्द्रका धनमलबम्म, वीरजितबम्म, लालजितबम्म ।

११५. धनमलका रणजितबम्म, [रणवीरबम्म, मानबीर-बम्म ।
११६. रणजितका वृषबहादुर बम्म, नयनबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. बृषबहादुरका चक्रबहादुर बम्म, रजबहादुर बम्म, अजयबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. नयनबहादुरका धमानसिंह बम्म ।
११५. वीरजितका रूद्रवीर बम्म ।
११५. लालजितका विष्णुबहादुर बम्म, शमरबहादुर बम्म, रत्नबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. रत्नबहादुरका दानबहादुर बम्म ।
१०९. विसकबम्मका भानमलबम्म, सिंहमलबम्म ।
११०. भानमलका जाडेबम्म ।
१११. गोरखसिंहबम्म,[17] सुरसिंहबम्म, रंगवीरबम्म ।
११०. सिंहमलका हंसदलबम्म, भार्मलबम्म, भीउमलबम्म, पर्बलबम्म ।
१११. हंसदलका मानध्वजबम्म ।
११२ सिंहवीर बम्म ।
११३. कृष्णबहादुर बम्म, कर्मसिंह बम्म ।
११४. कृष्णबहादुरका जन्मसिंह बम्म, वीरसिंह बम्म, तहर्कसिंह बम्म ।

फागोटी–

११०. तुथुबम्मका भूपतिबम्म (फागाटेली)
१११. उदयसिंह बम्म ।
११२. जगतिसिंह बम्म, जंगबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. जगतिका मनबहादुर बम्म, शेरबहादुर बम्म, नरसिंह बम्म ।
११४. मनबहादुरका रत्नबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. नरसिंहका भक्तवीर बम्म ।
११४. शेरबहादुरका रनसिंह बम्म ।
११५. मनराज बम्म ।
११३. जंगबहादुरका भोमबहादुरबम्म, लालबहादुर बम्म, गोरखबहादुर बम्म, शेरबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. भीमका नन्दबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. नयनसिंह बम्म ।
११४. लालबहादुरका दानबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. मानबहादुर बम्म ।

रूदुका सन्तानको नामावली लेखिसकियो । अब नायक थपाला, लैफु, अमाली, खातेसल्ला, काटेपहरातर्फ रहन्छन् जो चन्द्रभानका सन्तान हुन् तिनको नामावली लेखिन्छ ।

नायक थपाला—

१०८. चन्द्रभानका सुनाराज बम्म ।
१०९. महेन्द्रराज बम्म, शोभाराज बम्म, परिमलराज बम्म, चित्रराजबम्म ।
११०. परिमलका पर्बलराज बम्म, श्यामराज बम्म ।
१११. श्यामराजका मदनसिंह बम्म ।
११२. सेतुसिंह बम्म ।
११३. अमृतबम्म, शयनीबम्म ।
११४. अमृतका महिमाबम्म ।
११५. अमरसिंहबम्म ।
११६. अकरसिंह बम्म, अर्जुनसिंहबम्म ।

लायू, लैफू—

११७. अकरसिंहका कर्णसिंह बम्म ।
११८. हस्तबहादुर बम्म, गगनसिंह बम्म ।
११९. हस्तबहादुरका पूर्णबहादुर बम्म, मीनबहादुर बम्म ।
१२०. पूर्णबहादुरका ककरसिंह, हरीन्द्रसिंह, सुरेन्द्रसिंह बम्म ।
१२०. मीनबहादुरका दत्तबहादुर, धर्मजित, हरिसिंह बम्म ।
११९. गगनका जगतबहादुर बम्म, ललितबहादुर बम्म ।

खातेसल्ला—

११७. अर्जुनका नयनसिंह बम्म, छैमानसिंह बम्म ।

काटेपहरा—

११८. छैमानका सख्तवीर बम्म, पुनियल बम्म, रणबहादुर बम्म, चिन्तबहादुर बम्म ।
११९. सख्तबीरका मनजित बम्म ।
११९. पुनिमलका जंगबहादुर बम्म, नयनबहादुर बम्म ।

कुमारु बम्मका सन्तानको नामावली लेखिसकियो । अब थिर्पु बडाथपाला पट्टि आशकरिबम्मका सन्तानको नामावली लेखिन्छ ।

थिर्पु बडाथपाला—

१०७. आशकरिबम्मका अहिमानबम्म ।
१०८. जैभानबम्म, फुंजुबम्म ।
१०९. फुंजुका रणभंजनबम्म, लालभंजनबम्म, श्रीभक्त बम्म, महेन्द्रबम्म ।
११०. रणभंजनका कर्णबहादुर बम्म ।
१११. सेतुसिंहबम्म ।
११२. विष्णुबहादुरबम्म, हरिकृष्णबम्म, चन्द्रकृष्ण बम्म ।
११०. श्रीभक्का शक्तिबम्म ।
१११. शकसबहादुर बम्म, धनरूप बम्म ।
११०. महेन्द्रसिंहका हाँसुबम्म, बुद्धिबम्म ।
१११. हाँसुका मन्दिरबम्म ।
११२. चुभाबम्म ।
११३ पातुबम्म, कालुबम्म ।
१११. बुद्धिका वीलबलबम्म ।
११२. रतनबम्म, सालुबम्म, नरिबम्म, कर्णबम्म, लुतुबम्म, मनसुरबम्म, खड्गबम्म ।
११३. रतनका प्रदीपबम्म, सुमेरुबम्म, हर्कबम्म ।
११४. प्रदीपका धनबम्म, कृष्णबहादुर बम्म, रणबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. कृष्णबहादुरका नयनसिंहबम्म ।
११३. सालुका लोकबहादुरबम्म ।
११४. छत्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. कटकबहादुर बम्म, खिलबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. नरिका मिजुरबम्म ।
११४. देहिमाबम्म ।
११५. धर्मराज बम्म ।
११३. कर्णका हंसबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. जोरासिंह बम्म ।
११३. लुतुका मनरूप बम्म ।
११४. जनकसिंह बम्म ।
११३. मनसुरका सन्तानबम्म, मुनिबम्म, धनीराम बम्म, सर्बुसिंह बम्म, परिमलबम्म ।
११४. धनीरामका कालुसिंह बम्म, धनरूप बम्म ।
११४. सुमेरुबम्मका गम्भीरबम्म ।
११४. हर्कबम्मका पहलसिंह बम्म, ठक्करसिंह बम्म ।
११०. शोभाराजका भक्तबम्म, भीमलबम्म ।
१११. भक्तका महेन्द्रबम्म ।
११२. आउँसेबम्म ।
११३. देवराजबम्म ।
११४. सुमेरुबम्म, देउलुबम्म ।
११५. सुमेरुका जज्ञेबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. लोकेन्द्रबहादुर, पूर्णबहादुर, नरेन्द्रबहादुर, जनकबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. देउलुका पूर्णबहादुर, प्रीतिबहादुर बम्म ।
१११. भीमलका भुअलबम्म ।
११२. धनजित बम्म ।
११३. बहादुरबम्म, रूपकर्ण बम्म, कुमारसिंह बम्म, रूपालु बम्म ।
११४. बहादुरका धनसुर बम्म, दधिमल बम्म ।
११५. दधिमलका कुविरे बम्म ।
११४. रूपकर्णका रणवीर बम्म, कर्णवीर बम्म ।
११५. कर्णका गोकर्णवीर बम्म ।
११४. कुमारसिंहका बलबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. कुलबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. गणेशबहादुर बम्म, रजबहादुर बम्म ।

साझा पुर्खा कुमारुका तेस्रा पुस्तामा काटी गडजिउली थिर्पुतर्फका रुदुका छोरा जियासिंहका सन्तानको नामावली यस प्रकार छ—

गडजिउली—माझथपाला—

१०९. जियासिंहका आउँसेबम्म, कंठेबम्म ।
११०. कंठेका पुनिमलबम्म ।
१११. सूर्तिमलबम्म, रतिभानबम्म, दलुबम्म ।
११२. सूर्तिमलका सर्तुमलबम्म, प्रीतिमलबम्म, सिंहरूप बम्म, श्रीचक्र बम्म, रनदीप बम्म ।
११३. सर्तुमलका रणकेशर बम्म ।
११४. दानबहादुर बम्म, भक्तबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. दानबहादुरका मधुसिंह बम्म (समाजसेवी पुरुष) पर्बलसिंह बम्म ।
११६. मधुसिंहका प्रयागबहादुर (लाटो) जसबहादुर, पटकबहादुर, डम्बरबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. जसबहादुरका नवराज बम्म ।

११७. पटकबहादुरका शंखबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. पर्बलसिंहका ज्ञानबहादुर, पूर्णबहादुर, मेहरसिंह बम्म ।
११५. भक्तबहादुरका धनरूप बम्म, कुलमान बम्म, रनसिंह बम्म ।
११६. कुलमानका सत्तलसिंहबम्म ।
११६. रनसिंहका पद्मबहादुर बम्म, शमरबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. प्रीतिमलका पालसिंह बम्म, पैलुसिंह बम्म ।
११४. पालसिंहका शेरबहादुर बम्म, जयरूप बम्म ।
११५. शेरबहादुरका दलबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. नरेन्द्रबहादुर बम्म, लोकेन्द्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. पैलुसिंहका भीमबहादुर, भक्तबहादुर, जयसिंहबम्म
११५. भक्तबहादुरका कुलबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. जनकबहादुर, जिरबहादुर, टोपबहादुर, नेत्रबहादुर, धीरेन्द्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. जयसिंहका लालबहादुर, बम्बहादुर, कुम्भबहादुर, बलबहादुर ।
११६. लालबहादुरका प्रेमबहादुर, धीरबहादुर ।
११६. बम्बहादुरका वीरसिंह, वीरबहादुर ।
११६. कुम्भका गोविन्दबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. बलका महेन्द्रबम्म ।
११२. सिंहरूपका जलरूप, कर्णसिंह ।
११३. कर्णका प्रतापबम्म ।
११२. श्रीचक्रका देहिमानसिंह ।
११३. दयालसिंह, गणेशबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. दयालका हरिबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. धर्मराज बम्म ।
११४. गणेशका जोरसिंह बम्म, तेजबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. जोराका पहलमानसिंह, दलबीर बम्म ।
११३. रनदीपका नौलासिंह ।
११४. धनसिंह, चक्रबहादुर हर्कबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. हर्कका तिलकबहादुर, जयबहादुर बम्म ।
११०. आङ्सेका लोहारेबम्म ।
१११. चन्द्रभानबम्म ।
११२. जयमलबम्म, श्यामलबम्म ।
११३. जयमलका लक्षुबम्म ।
११४. मनीश्वरबम्म, नरिमानबम्म ।
११५. मनीश्वरका जज्ञबहादुर (९९ वर्ष जीवित) पद्मबहादुर ।
११६. जज्ञेका जुद्धबहादुर, जसबहादुर, असंख्यबहादुर, अनन्तबहादुर ।
११७. जुद्धका कर्णबहादुर, भैरवबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. कर्णका खड्गबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. जसबहादुरका पर्बलजंग, नीरमर्दन, नीरजंग, हर्कजंग बम्म ।
११७. असंख्यका धीरबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. नरिभानका सर्वबम्म, धनवीर बम्म, बालेन्द्रबम्म, कालीबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. बर्बेका मानवीर, ध्वजवीर, दलवीर, रणवीर बम्म ।
११६. कालीबहादुरका रत्नबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. श्यामलका गुइँचेबम्म, रंगमलबम्म ।
११४. गुइँचेका लालबहादुर बम्म, जयसुर बम्म ।
११५. लालबहादुरका डिलबहादुर बम्म, गंगाबहादुर बम्म, बलबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. बलका रविबहादुर बम्म, रत्नबहादुर बम्म, अलखबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. जयसुरका पर्बलजित बम्म ।
११६. कर्णसिंह बम्म, लंकबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. रंगमलका रामबहादुर बम्म, मुनिसिंह बम्म ।
११५. रामबहादुरका जयराज बम्म, बम्बहादुर बम्म ।
११६. बम्बहादुरका तंजनबहादुर बम्म ।

जैतुबम्म र हंसुबम्मका सन्तानको नामावली लेखिसकियो । अब थिपुं मल्ली रजवारबाडा तर्फका जसी बम्मका सन्तानको नामावली लेखिछ—

थिपुं मल्ली रजवारबाडा—
११०. जसीबम्मका जैदुबम्म ।
१११. रामशरण बम्म ।
११२. श्रीमलबम्म, सिंहमलबम्म, श्रीभानबम्म ।
११३. सिंहमलका तिरिमलबम्म ।
११४. भ्वानेबम्म ।
११५. कंजरेबम्म, भगवानेबम्म, भुवालेबम्म ।
११६. कंजरेका पालुबम्म ।
११७. भीमबहादुर बम्म, भक्तबहादुर बम्म ।

११८. शक्तका चाउरेबम्म, जयरूपबम्म, बलबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. भीमका हर्कबहादुर बम्म, कृष्णबहादुर बम्म, हर्कजितबम्म, कार्तिसिंह बम्म ।
११९. कान्तिसिंहका भरतबहादुर बम्म, धनमान बम्म ।
१२०. भरतका बलिराज बम्म ।
११९. हर्कबहादुरका नयनसिंह बम्म, बलबहादुर बम्म, रघुदल बम्म ।
१२०. नयनसिंहका मोहनसिंह बम्म ।
११९. हर्कजितका शकसबहादुर बम्म, जिरबहादुर बम्म ।
११९. कृष्णबहादुरका जनकबहादुरबम्म ।
१२०. दलबहादुरका सज्जनबहादुर, बृषबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. भगबानेका विजयमल बम्म ।
११७. शान्ते, बिनामल, रिजल बम्म ।
११८. बिनामलका बहादुरबम्म, उज्वलसिंह बम्म, बीरजित बम्म ।
११९. बहादुरका रणभीम बम्म, धनसुर बम्म, जयसुर बम्म, बलजित बम्म ।
१२०. रणभीमका सर्जन बम्म ।
१२०. धनसुरका पूर्णबहादुर(सेते)बम्म ।
१२०. जयपुरका गोरखबहादुर बम्म, रणबहादुर बम्म, रजबहादुर बम्म ।
१२१. रजबहादुरका बृषबहादुर बम्म ।
१२०. बलजितका गंगाबहादुर बम्म ।
१२१. बलिबाहु बम्म ।
११९. उज्वलसिंहका जाडसिंह बम्म, चन्द्रसिंह बम्म ।
१२०. जाडसिंहका नयनबहादुर बम्म ।
१२०. चन्द्रसिंहका नीरबहादुर, बीरबहादुर बम्म ।
११९. बीरजितका सत्यधन बम्म ।
१२०. ललितबहादुर, शंकरबहादुर, भजनबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. शान्तेका साइमल बम्म, श्रीभक्त बम्म ।
११९. साइमलका सिंहबीर बम्म ।
१२०. धनमल बम्म, कर्णबीर बम्म ।
१२१. धनमलका नरबीर बम्म ।
१२१. कर्णबीरका बीरभंजन बम्म, धनभंजन बम्म ।
१२२. बीरभंजनका अरिभंजन बम्म ।
१२२. धनभंजनका शत्रुभंजन बम्म ।
११९. श्रीभक्तका सख्तसिंह बम्म, रूद्रसिंह बम्म ।
१२०. रूद्रसिंहका रूपकर्ण बम्म, खाम बम्म, ज्यालसिंह बम्म, नयनसिंह बम्म ।
१२१. नयनसिंहका राईसिंह बम्म ।
१२१. रूपकर्णका कर्मजित बम्म, धनजित बम्म ।
१२१. कर्णजितका कर्णबहादुर बम्म, पलबहादुर बम्म ।

थिपुं रजबारबाडा, माझथपालातर्फका जनक, चैतरि, आशकरि, जसीबम्मका सन्तानको विवरण लेखिसकियो । अब खीन गाउँ, उखाडी गाउँ र राडु गाउँपट्टिका बलालसिंहका सन्तानको विवरण लेखिछ—

खीन गाउँ—

१०७. बलालबम्मका विजिताबम्म ।

उखाडी गाउँ—

१०८. रनुराज खाती, तुथैराज खाती ।

राडु गाउँपट्टि—

१०९. तुथैराजका अनै खाती, चामे खाती ।
११०. अनैका फागोठेली, चामेका आउँसे खाती, उदै खाती ।
१११. आउँसेका अर्जुनेखाती, अजेखाती, गजेखाती, विजयखाती ।
११२. अर्जुनेका देउलुखाती, बलालुखाती, नयनाखाती, सबैखाती, विजिते खाती, इन्द्रे खाती ।
११३. देउलुका रनबल खाती, बम्बहादुर खाती, दलाल खाती, कम्मरे खाती ।
११४. रनदलका दमाईसिंह खाती, कलपेखाती, कुशा खाती, अजैखाती, सेवाखाती, गणपाल खाती ।
११५. दमाईसिंहका कलबहादुर बम्म, कुशबहादुर बम्म, अजयबहादुर बम्म, शीतलबम्म, कुम्भबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. कलबहादुरका स्वरूपसिंह बम्म, धीरबहादुर बम्म ।
११३ बलालुका धनजित बम्म ।
११४. सिंहरूप, शेरबहादुर, रणबहादुर खाती ।
११५. सिंहरूपका गोरखबहादुर बम्म, चतुरसिंह बम्म ।
११६. गोरखबहादुरका विष्णुबहादुर बम्म, कटकबहादुर बम्म ।

११६. चतुर्सिंहका रणबहादुर बम्म, ऐंटनबहादुर बम्म, चित्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. रणबहादुरका महेन्द्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. कटकबहादुरका बलबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. शेरबहादुरका छत्रबहादुर बम्म, प्रखरी बम्म, ठगबहादुर, मुनिजंग, हिक्मतबहादुर ।
११६. छत्रका बचनबहादुर, ताराबहादुर, चैतबहादुर ।
११६. प्रखरीका सुवर्णबहादुर, चेतबहादुर ।
११५. रणबहादुरका जितबहादुर, गणेशबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. जितबहादुरका कर्णबहादुर बम्म,भीमबहादुर बम्म । अंगबहादुर बम्म, टोरबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. गणेशबहादुरका दानबहादुर बम्म, शकसबहादुर बम्म, चन्द्रबहादुर बम्म, गोपीचन्द्र बम्म ।
११७. गोपीचन्द्रका भीमबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. अजयबहादुरका पूर्णबहादुर बम्म, भक्तबहादुर बम्म, बसन्तबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. शीतलका सिंहराज बम्म ।
११६. कुम्भबहादुरका बखतबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. दलबहादुर बम्म, छक्कबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. छक्कबहादुरका उदयबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. अजैखातीका खड्गबहादुर, जनकबहादुर, बलबहादुर, प्रेमबहादुर, अंगबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. खड्गबहादुरका बाजेन्द्रबहादुर बम्म, पूर्णबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. जनकबहादुरका बिनोदीपाल बम्म ।
११४. बम्बहादुर खातीका रूपचन्द्र बम्म ।
११५. ज्ञानबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. दलाल खातीका धनबहादुर बम्म, मनबहादुर बम्म, देवबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. धनबहादुरका शंखबहादुर बम्म, लोकबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. कम्मरे खातीका धनवीर बम्म ।
११५. जंगबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. ठक्करबहादुर बम्म, जनकबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. नयना खातिका धनसिंह बम्म, नयनसिंह बम्म ।
११४. धनसिंहका ज्योतिसिंह बम्म, चन्द्रपाल बम्म ।
११५. गजेखातीका जाडेबम्म, जुल्फे बम्म ।
११६. जाडेका जोखनसिंह बम्म, तिलकसिंह बम्म ।
११६. जुल्फेका दीपराज बम्म ।
११५. विजय खातीका धनबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. चक्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. कुशाखातीका हंसबहादुर बम्म, चन्द्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. बलालसिंहका गुमानसिंह बम्म, रनसुर बम्म, गंगे बम्म ।
११४. रनसुरका मोतीलाल बम्म ।
११५. मीनबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. बलिराज, धर्मराज, रत्नराज बम्म ।
११४. गुमानसिंहका परिमल बम्म ।
११५. हरिबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. सर्बेखातीका पद्मे बम्म ।
११४. धनमल बम्म, मोहनवीर बम्म ।
११५. धनमलका बृषबहादुर बम्म, हर्षबहादुर बम्म ।

यतिसम्म तुथैराजका सन्तानको विवरण लेखियो ।

अब रनुराजका सन्तानको विवरण लेखिन्छ । जो जसको जहाँ पर्छ सच्याई लिनु—

१०९. रनुराजका बद्रे खाती ।
११०. ईश्वरे खाती ।
१११. मेदी खाती, चामे खाती ।
११२. मेदीका भैमले बम्म ।
११३. हस्तरूप बम्म, जसरूप बम्म (नेटापट्टि)
११४. हस्तरूपका जयसिंह बम्म ।
११५. सदनसिंह बम्म, पद्मसिंह बम्म ।
११६. सदनसिंहका रत्नबहादुर बम्म, दानबहादुर बम्म ।
११२. चामेका उदयसिंह बम्म ।
११३. भीयाबम्म, सिंहरूप बम्म ।
११४. भीयाका करवीरबम्म ।
११५. रूद्रे बम्म, मान्सेबम्म, जंगेबम्म, बलेबम्म, सिंहेबम्म
११६. रूद्रे बम्मका कर्णमान बम्म, हंसमान बम्म ।
११७. कर्णमानका केशरसिंह, दीपसिंह, बृषबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. हंसमानका अवीरसिंह बम्म ।
११६. मान्सेबम्मका लोकबहादुर बम्म, अर्जुनबहादुरबम्म ।
११७. लोकबहादुरका कृष्णबहादुर बम्म, कटकबहादुर बम्म, दलबहादुर बम्म, सरनबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. कृष्णबहादुरका नन्दबहादुर बम्म, अमरबहादुर बम्म ।

११५. अर्जुनबहादुरका दानबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. जंगेबम्मका सन्तति फागोटेली हुन् ।
११६. बलेबम्मका कालेबम्म, परजितबम्म, जोरासिंह बम्म, नयनसिंह बम्म, मनवीर बम्म ।
११७. परजितका पूर्णसिंह बम्म, रंगसिंह बम्म, जनकसिंह बम्म, जगजितसिंह बम्म, भीमजितसिंह बम्म ।
११८. पूर्णसिंहका नरेन्द्रसिंह बम्म ।
११७. नयनसिंहका मधुसिंह बम्म, शमरसिंह बम्म, वैकुंठ बम्म ।
११६. सिंहेबम्मका तीखेबम्म, भक्तबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. तीखेका मेघबहादुर बम्म, गजबहादुर बम्म, हंसबहादुर बम्म, अचम्मबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. मेघबहादुरका देवराज बम्म, तखतबहादुर बम्म ।
११७. जोरासिंहका नरबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. जोराबहादुर बम्म, रंगबहादुर बम्म, रानुसिंह बम्म, अनिपाल बम्म, जनकराज बम्म ।
११५. धनसिंह खातीका छोरा चन्द्रपाल बम्मका अमरबहादुर, करसिंह, उजिरबहादुर, मानबहादुर, जोखबहादुर, पल्टन बम्म ।
११६. अमरबहादुरका ललितबम्म, पद्मवीर बम्म ।
११६. करसिंहका नीलबहादुर बम्म, पूर्णबहादुर बम्म, मनबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. उजिरका मनरूप बम्म ।
११६. मानबहादुरका मनशुर बम्म ।
११३. सर्वेखातीका सकलसिंह खाती ।
११३. विजिते खातीका श्रीराम खाती, मेदेखाती ।
११४. मेदेका धनजित बम्म बिटालू, वीरुबम्म, बलुबम्म ।
११५. धनजितका परशुराम, मनजित, कालेबम्म, कृपाले बम्म ।
११६. परशुरामका शंकर बम्म बिटालू ।
११७. शंकरका राईसिंह बम्म, गर्भुसिंह बम्म, जयशुर बम्म, मैतुसिंह बम्म ।
११६. मनजितका मन्दिर बम्म, मुन्सीबम्म, अमृतबम्म, देउसिंह बम्म ।
११६. कालेबम्मका हरिमल बम्म ।
११६. कृपालेका धनरूप बम्म, धनमल बम्म, चिउँसो बम्म ।
११६. बलुबम्मका जसुन्त बम्म ।
११७. धनमल बम्म, बचीबम्म ।

यहाँसम्म अर्जुने खातीका सन्ततिको विवरण दिइयो, अब अजे खातीका सन्ततिको विवरण दिइन्छ—

११२. अजेखातीका नरिभान खाती ।
११३. रनकेशर बम्म, सर्वेश्वर बम्म ।
११४. सर्वेश्वरका विन्द्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. धनबहादुर बम्म, प्रयागबहादुर बम्म, रामबहादुर बम्म, अर्जेदल बम्म ।
११६. धनबहादुरका प्रभुजन बम्म, नरजन बम्म, मोहनम्ब बम्म, श्रीजन बम्म ।
११७. नरजनका अजयबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. प्रयागबहादुरका वीरबहादुर बम्म, अंगबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. रामबहादुरका सुजिमबहादुर बम्म, एकराज बम्म ।
११४. रनकेशरका मोतीसिंह बम्म, जंगवीर बम्म, प्रीतिसिंह बम्म, पद्मजंग बम्म, गोरखबहादुर बम्म, जयसिंह बम्म ।
११५. जंगवीरका मानबहादुर बम्म, धनराज बम्म ।
११५. पद्मजंगका अजयेन्द्र बम्म ।
११६. शुम्भबम्म, कुम्भबम्म ।
११५. गोरखबहादुरका ध्वजबहादुर बम्म, दलबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. जयसिंहका शंखवीर बम्म, नन्दवीर बम्म, सिंहराज बम्म ।

यस अगाडि गजेखातीका सन्ततिको विवरण दिइन्छ—

११२. गजेखातीका साइमल बम्म, धनमल बम्म, दलशुर बम्म, परिमल बम्म ।
११३. साइमलका बलरूप बम्म ।
११४. डिल्लीबहादुर बम्म, अजयबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. अजयका सूर्यबहादुर बम्म ।
११३. धनमलका जंगबहादुर बम्म, दानबहादुर बम्म, रूपचन्द्र बम्म, नौलासिंह बम्म ।

यस विवरणले राजा नरिबम्मका सन्ततिको लेखो भयो। यसपछि उनका माइला भाइ रतिबम्मका सन्तानको लेखो गरिन्छ । बिर्छाम बम्मका सन्ततिहरू कल्यालराज बलिराजका पालामा बस्नेत, श्रृणेत र बूढा थरमा परिणत भएर अधिकतर कर्णाली तथा राप्ती अञ्चलमा र त्यताबाट विभिन्न भू–भाग एवं देशदेशावरमा फैलिएका छन् । नामावली प्राप्त भएको छैन । बिर्छामकै केही सन्ततिहरू उखाडीका बम्म र सिजादराका लामाकार्की, श्रीपाली बूढा र राम्माली थापा ( क्रमशः माझी र सुपल थापा बोलिन्छन् ) मुगुदरा खारीका खरेल, खारका खराल हुन् । एक बलो पिउठानतर्फ रहन्छ र घर्ती क्षेत्री बोलिन्छ । रतिभान सन्तति कालीकोट जिल्ला अन्तर्गत राम्नकोट, सिक, रासकोट, साल्री डाँडाखेत, बदालकोटतर्फ रहन्छन् । यहाँ राम्नकोटे प्रशाखाको विवरण समावेश छ ।

१०२. रतिभान बम्म (राम्नकोटपट्टि) ।
१०३. सुरिम बम्म, सिगालम् बम्म, सिगारम् बम्म ।
१०४. सिगालम्का रुदु बम्म खाती ।
१०५. सुनाराज खाती ।
१०६. वीरबल खाती ।
१०७. सोनाम् खाती ।
१०८. सुर्तान खाती ।
१०९. मैतु खाती ।
११०. बहादुर बम्म ।
१११. चन्द्रमल बम्म, सूर्तिमल बम्म ।
११२. सूर्तिमलका शक्तिबम्म ।
११३. भक्तिबम्म ।
११४. सन्ते बम्म ।
११५. नरिभान बम्म ।
११६. दलपति बम्म, कित्थे बम्म, बलिमन्त बम्म ।
११७. दलपतिका कृष्णबहादुर बम्म, चन्द्ररूप बम्म ।
११८. कृष्णबहादुरका भक्तबहादुर बम्म, कर्मसिंह बम्म ।
११९. भक्तबहादुरका दीपराज बम्म, हरिराज बम्म, मोतीराज बम्म, पूर्णराज बम्म, अच्युतराज बम्म ।
११९. कर्मसिंहका सिंहबहादुर पूर्णबहादुर ।
११७. कित्थे बम्मका गम्भीरे बम्म ।
११८. लालबहादुर बम्म, जलबहादुर बम्म, जयबहादुर बम्म ।
११९. लालबहादुरका गजबहादुर बम्म, वीरेन्द्रबहादुर बम्म ।
११९. जलबहादुरका मनबहादुर बम्म, कलबहादुर बम्म ।
११९. जयबहादुरका सर्वराज बम्म ।
११७. बलिमन्तका भीमबहादुर बम्म, बलरूप बम्म ।
११८. भीमबहादुरका नन्दबहादुर बम्म, लोकबहादुर बम्म ।
११८. बलरूपका जयबहादुर बम्म, रामबहादुर बम्म ।
११९. जयबहादुरका नरबहादुर बम्म ।
११२. चन्द्रमलका रूद्रमल बम्म ।
११३. रणबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. धनबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. सख्तबहादुर बम्म ।
११६. जनकबहादुर बम्म, प्रयागबहादुर बम्म, जबाहर बम्म, केशरजंग बम्म, धर्मध्वज बम्म, डब्बलसिंह बम्म ।
११७. जनकबहादुरका ऐनबहादुर बम्म, मैनाबहादुर बम्म, सैनबहादुर बम्म ।
१०४. सिगारम्का रामचन्द्र बम्म ।
१०५. रनदल खाती ।
१०६. गोल्फु खाती ।
१०७. राछु खाती ।
१०८. राखलु खाती ।
१०९. रूपसिंह बम्म ।
११०. रतिभान बम्म, मानसिंह बम्म ।
१११. रतिभानका महिपति बम्म, रूद्रभान बम्म ।
११२. महिपतिका सर्वदल बम्म (सहकाल संवत् १९१२) रणदीप बम्म ।
११३. सर्वदलका सुरथबहादुर बम्म, मानबहादुर बम्म, राजबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. सुरथबहादुरका नरजंग बम्म, खड्गजंग बम्म ।
११५. नरजंगका लडचा बम्म (विकलांग, लठेब्रो) ।
११३. रणदीपका रणबहादुर बम्म, कालु बम्म, बद्रीमान बम्म ।

११४. कालुका चन्द्रबहादुर बम्म, गजबहादुर बम्म, कुलबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. चक्रबहादुरका शमरबहादुर बम्म ।
११५. गजबहादुरका भरत बम्म ।
११४. बद्रीमानका भीमबहादुर बम्म, मन्दिर बम्म ।
११२. रूद्रमानका बलरूप बम्म ।
११३. दलबहादुर बम्म, वीरजित बम्म ।
११४. दलबहादुरका धनमान बम्म ।
११५. वृजभान बम्म, कालीभान बम्म ।
११३. वीरजितका शम्भुबहादुर बम्म, नरबहादुर बम्म, लोकबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. शम्भुका दीपबहादुर बम्म ।
११४. राजबहादुरका गोरे बम्म ।
११५. चतुरे बम्म (वंशावली लेख्ने– संवत् १९८३ साल मासे ज्येष्ठ २४ गते रोज २ शुभम । लेख्ने कालु बम्म, चतुरे बम्म मुकाम ढेडूखर्क – ठुकेथपाला – थिर्पु सदर ।)

छूट – थप

१११. मानसिंहका अर्जुन बम्म, रनविक्रम बम्म, शतवर बम्म ।
११२. अर्जुनका भगीवन्त बम्म ।
११३. लालसिंह बम्म, अहिभान बम्म ।
११४. अहिभानका महिमानसिंह बम्म ।
११२. रनविक्रमका वीरभान बम्म, वीरसिंह बम्म ।
११२. शतबरका हंसबहादुर बम्म ।

द्रष्टव्य:– छुरीबम्मका सन्तति श्रीपाल (बझाङ) तर्फ रहन्छन् । इन्द्रबम्मका छोरा विज्ञानबम्मका सन्तति बिष्ट कहलाएर सुयल बिष्ट वा पवार बिष्ट बोलिन्छन् र बाजुराको कोल्टी धाराकोटे अछामको मल्लो भैंसोल्यातर्फ रहन्छन् । सारूका सन्तति थापा भई सुयल थापा, सुयलराउत बोलिन्छन् । यिनीहरू दैलेख जिल्लाको राम्म, सुयाला र विशाला ।

[ यस वंशावलीको सकल प्रति हामीसित छ । आफ्ना राजीखुशीले नकल सारेर लैजान दिएका हौं । सकल बमोजिम नकल ठीक दुरूस्त छ । ]

## ३. प्रतिपत्ति एवं निष्कर्ष तथा सन्दर्भ स्रोत

### ३.१ प्रतिपत्ति

हुन त प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भबारे विवर्णिकामार्फत अध्ययन गरिएकै छ । तथापि नेपालमा मानवशास्त्र तथा समाजशास्त्र अध्ययनको भौतिक मापदण्डका परिपृष्ठमा यस उपलब्धिले मानद स्थान लिने अधिक सम्भावना छ । कारण हाम्रो पूर्वोक्त धारणा नेपालमा खश ब्राह्मण समाजका अध्ययनको आधारभूत प्रमाण बन्न गएको छ ।

यसपूर्वका समाजशास्त्रीय धारणा अनुसार खश जाति र ब्राह्मण जातिको अध्ययन गर्दा भिन्नाभिन्नै ठानेर गर्ने गरिन्थ्यो । प्रत्येक समाजभित्र ब्राह्मणादि सवर्ण जातिको अस्तित्व रहन्छ भन्ने विश्वासको कमी हुनाले नै जातिलाई सवर्ण एवं असवर्णमा वर्गीकरण गर्ने परिपाटी बढ्न गएको अनुभव गरिन्छ । नत्र अन्तर्मुखी प्रवृत्तिद्वारा यस पर्वताश्रयिन् समाजको अध्ययन गर्दा विश्वस्त ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठहरू असुर ब्राह्मण, किरात ब्राह्मण, पिशाच ब्राह्मण आदिका उपोद्घात र विशद वर्णनले भरिभराउ हुनसक्छन् । तसर्थ कालक्रमबशात् विश्वघटनाचक्रले सारस्वत भूमिमा ब्राह्मणवादको उदय भई त्यसले उग्र रूप लिंदा सबैले करबलले सिको मात्र सिक्नु परेको रहेछ भन्ने कुरा छर्लङ्ग हुनजान्छ ।

आफ्नो यथार्थ परिचयदेखि आफैं तर्सेर वरपर भाग्ने बानीले मानवजातिलाई कहिलेदेखि सतायो यो छुट्टै खोजीको विषय हुनआएको छ । त्यसतर्फ अभिमुखीकरण गर्नको निम्ति नेपालमा व्यापक अभियानको आवश्यकता महसूस गरिन्छ । यो आवश्यकता सार्वत्रिक हुनसकोस् र भावी अनुसन्धाताहरूका काँधमा त्यो जिम्मेवारी आओस् जसद्वारा नेपालीत्वको अहत निजस्व एवं वर्चस्वले महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि हासिल गर्न सकोस् भन्ने शतत: कामना गर्नुपरेको छ ।

### ३.२ निष्कर्ष

कर्णाली प्रदेशको मध्यकालीन समाजको पृष्ठभूमि प्रकाशमा नआएसम्म नेपालमा सामाजिक अध्ययनको विशुद्ध स्वरूप प्रकाशमा आउन सम्भव छैन । त्यसो

नमूद्दा सन् सामाजिक इतिहासको पक्ष नै झासमा झासिने छ। अनि त विश्वव्यापी रूपमा क्रियमाण रहेका राष्ट्रिय इतिहास निर्माणका व्यापक जहरहरू कुन हदसम्म फलदायी हुनसक्लान् त्यसबारेमा मनाक् चिन्तन मनन मनुपर्ने भएको छ।

ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठपछि पालो आउँछ मानवशास्त्र समाजशास्त्रका निजस्व र वर्चस्वको। जुनसुकै राष्ट्रले पनि आफ्नो राष्ट्रिय समाजको स्वरूप प्रकाशमा ल्याउँदा समाजका दुवै पक्षको यथार्थ चित्रण गर्नैपर्छ, गरेकै हुन्छ। यो प्रवृत्ति सदैव क्रियमाण सत्यमा आधारित सार्वभौम प्रवृत्ति हो। त्यस प्रवृत्तिदेखि नेपाल मात्र अपवाद रहने प्रश्न आउँदैन। तसर्थ प्रस्तुत अध्ययन नेपालमा समाजशास्त्र मानवशास्त्र आदि मूलभूत विषयमा अध्ययन गरी सामाजिक इतिहासको निर्माण गर्ने कार्यका निम्ति आशानुकूल लाभदायक हुने विश्वासमा केन्द्रित छ।

अन्ततोगत्वा प्रस्तुत अध्ययनले 'पंच पंचैव रक्षितः' जस्ता मानवीय उदात्तताद्वारा ओतप्रोत नेपाली समाजका एक पक्षका पंचमुहानमध्ये एक मुहानको करीब आद्योपान्त अध्ययन गरेको छ र यस नतिजा अनुसार श्रीपाली समुदायको ज्येष्ठता सिद्ध भएको छ। सम्भवतः यी वाशिष्ठच एवं भरत वसु संज्ञक समूहको उद्गमन र आंगरिसहरूको उद्गमनमा प्रतिस्पर्धाको सम्भावना अनुमान गरिन्छ तापनि त्यो आधार भावी अनुसन्धानमा निर्भर रहेको कारणबाट तत्काल ज्येष्ठताको श्रीपाली समुदाय-माथि नै रहन सक्छ।

खश जातिका श्रीपाली समुदाय र सिजापति समुदायमा प्रतिस्पर्धा परेजस्तै नेपालीकरणका सांस्कृतिक पूर्वाधारहरूमा पनि खश जाति र किरात जातिमा कुन जाति अगुवा रहेको थियो तत्सम्बन्धमा यकीन गर्न समेत यस्ता अध्ययनहरू लाभदायक हुनसक्छन्। त्यस-उसले प्रस्तुत अध्ययनको सामयिक औचित्य अझ स्पष्ट हुन जान्छ।

## १.३ सन्दर्भस्रोत

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन दुई पाठमा बाँडिएको छ—१. प्राचीन तथा मध्यकाल र २. मध्यकाल तथा उत्तर मध्यकाल। त्यसो भएकोले यसको अध्ययन सिद्धान्त एवं सन्दर्भ टिप्पणी सहित पूर्वपाठ प्राचीन नेपाल (पुरातत्त्व विभाग) संख्या ७७ मा प्रकाशित भएकोले यस उत्तर पाठको स्रोत सन्दर्भ स्पष्ट भएको मान्न सकिन्छ। त्यसपछिका जानकारीमा स्वदेशदर्शन अन्तर्गत सम्पन्न गरिएको सम्बन्धित क्षेत्रको क्षेत्रीय अध्ययन।

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## टिप्पणीहरू

१. प्राचीन नेपाल—संख्या ७७ र जिज्ञासा—वर्ष १ अंक १ द्रष्टव्य।

२. राराको सौराइ (प्रकाशोन्मुख)

३. जिज्ञासा (२०४० आश्विन)

४. त्रिपथ गन्तव्य—अमर्त्य, मर्त्य र नैऋत्य। साक्षी—सवितरि त्रय=सूर्य चन्द्र अग्नि।

चतुःसन— वेद, वर्ण, वर्ग, चतुःश्रेय, दिशा र ब्रह्म।

पञ्चानन— देवताका वर्ग, खशगणका सामुदायिक प्रकार, नेपालीको मूल प्रकृति।

षडानन— रस, रूप, गन्ध, स्पर्श, अंग, अपांग र छल।

सप्तधा— सप्तद्वीप, सप्त समुद्र, सप्तसिन्धु, सप्तर्षि, सप्तलोक, सप्तशति, सप्तवाच, सप्तवार, सप्तगोत्र, सप्तगंगा, सप्तव्यूह।

अष्टधा — औषधि, वसु, कुलपर्वत, कुलायन, विवाहप्रकार, मृत्युप्रकार, बास्तुविधि र अष्टचक्र ।

नवधा — भक्ति अथवा साधनापद्धतिका प्रकार, नवग्रह, नवद्वार, नवदुर्गा, नवमांश, नवव्याकर्ण, नवरस ।

एकादशधा — रुद्र, भैरव, इन्द्रीय, विद्विष ।

द्वादशधा — सूर्य, मास, रास, अंश, प्रकृतिका भेद र भूशूर, भूधर, भूम्याप्त र भूमिज जस्ता प्रकारका प्रकृतिका त्रिगुणित भेद । त्यस्तै अमर्त्य, मर्त्य, नैऋत्य जस्ता पूर्वोक्त प्राकृत भेद-माथि भेद बुझाउने प्रतीकात्मक रूढहरू ।

५. समाज संस्कृति परिशीलन ।

६. खरेलको वंशावलीको भूमिका ।

७. भेरीका गाउँघर ।

८. भेरो लोकसाहित्य ।

९. गोपाल वंशावली ।

१०. कर्णाली-प्रदेश एकबिटो अध्ययन ।

११. अभिलेख संग्रह ।

१२. पृथ्वीस्तम्भलेख दुल्लू ।

१३. सिजाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा ।

१४. पाँचसय वर्ष (नयाँ संस्करण) ।

१५. राउटे लोकजीवन ।

१६. द्रष्टव्य: सुन्दरे खातीका छोरा सज्ञानसम्म शुरूदेखि १०५ पुस्ता हुन्छ । सज्ञानका सन्तान रासकोट, रावलबाडा, रानागाउँ, डाँडाखेततर्फ रहन्छन् । नामावली पछि आउँछ ।

१७. द्रष्टव्य: गोरखसिंहका सन्तान ठुकेथपाला र नायक-बाडातर्फ छन् । सुरसिंहका सन्तान रंगवीरका सन्तान दुवै नायकबाडामा छन् । नामावली पाइएको छैन ।

# प्रधानमन्त्री जंगबहादुर राणाका समयको नेपाल-भोट युद्धका ऐतिहासिक सामग्री

(गताङ्कको बाँकी)

४ श्री ५ गोर्षा सर्कार, भोट सर्कारका षासापट्टिका साध सिमाना सच्यायाको कागज—

उप्रान्त अघिछ्यांलुङ ५७ सालमा श्री ५ चीनवादशाहका हुकुमले आयाका वडा टुंथ्वाङ च्यानच्युनवाट श्री ५ गोर्षा सर्कारलाई गरिदियाका सनदमा र मौतार्सि अम्वालेकुतिका ढेवा कटुवालजाई गरिदियाका सनदमा षासा फलाम साधुका जग्गामा ढुंगाको थुप्रो र पानिले छेक्यासम्म सोझो दक्षिण गोर्षाले चर्चनु उत्तर भोटले चर्चनु भन्या वेहोराका सनद भयाको छदाछदै षासातर्फवाट केहि जगा मिचिन जादा श्री ५ गोर्खा सर्कारवाट ह्लासाका श्रीवडा अम्वालाई लेषी रमना हुँदा सिवाना जाचि सच्याई रफा गर्नालाई चिनिजा भोटचा साहेवानहरुवाट षटन् भै लावाङछ्यानजोयह्लावाङ गोनवो कुतिका २ ढेवा नैवोहरू सिवानामा आया श्री ५ गोर्षा सर्कारवाट काजी उमाकान्त उपाध्याय कपतान् सताराम षत्री कपतान् जवर कार्किहरू आई षासा सिवानामा २ तरफका भारादार वसि २ सनद हेर्दा दुवै सनदमा फलाम साधुदेषी दषीन गोर्षाको उत्तर भोटको भनि षुलासा लेष्याको रहेछ फलाम साधुदेषी पूर्वपश्चिम येताउता अघि वमोजिम चर्चनु भनि लेष्याको रहेछ फलानु साध भन्या वेहोरा षुलासा नलेष्याको हुनाले गोर्षाका भारादारहरूले फलाम साधुका ढुंगा थुप्रायाका किलादेषी पूर्वपश्चिम सोझो साध लाउनु भंदा भोट तरफका भारादार हरूले छ्याङलुङ ५७ सालदेषी भोटवाट चर्चि आयाको जगा आज हामि छोडन सक्तौन भनि भन्दा दुवै तर्फको कुरा नमिल्दा छ्यानजोयह्लावाङगोनवोले कारोवारि नामध्याल छेटेनलाई श्री ५ गोर्षा सर्कारका वडा वजीर श्री मिनिष्टर साहेवका हजूरमा हाजिर भै गोर्षावाट आउन्या भारादारहरूसित सिवानाको कुरा रफा हुन नसकता हामी यहां हाजिर भऱ्यूं हजूरका तजविजले दुवै सर्कारको चित्त रहन्या सहलह गरि पछिसम्म तकार नहुन्या पाठसंग रफा गरि वक्सनुहवोस् हामिलाई मंजुर छ भन्या विति गर्दा दुवै तर्फका सनदमा पनि फलाम साधु देषी दषीन गोर्षाको उत्तर भोटको भनि लेष्याको विहोराले फलास साधुदेषी पूर्वपश्चिम सोझासोझ गर्नु पर्न्या हो तैपनि गोर्षा भोट दुवै सर्कार श्री ५ वादसाहका हुकुममा रहन्या हुनाले र तिमीहरूले पनि नेपालसम्म आई छिनिवक्सनु हवोस् भनि विन्ति गऱ्यापछि हामीले सहलह गर्दैनौ भनि जवाव दिन मुनासिव पर्दैन ।। अव उप्रान्त सिवानाको फलाम साधुदेषी पूर्वतर्फ अघिदेषी भोटवाट चर्च्याको लिपिङ खोला र भोटचाकोसिका दोभानदेषी जुमषोला र भोटचाकोसिको दोभानसम्मका विचमा भोटचाकोसिदेषी पूर्व भोटको पश्चिम गोर्षाको फेरी भोटचाकोसि र जुमषोला २ का दोभानमा ढुंगामा थुप्रादेषी जुमषोलाको सिर छाऱ्या भन्याको पानि र विचविचमा ढुंगाको थुप्रा लायाको छ उत्तर भोटको दषीन गोर्षाको फेरि जुमषोलाको सिर छाऱ्याको ढुंगाका थुप्रादेषी तिनचाल्याका डाडाका धारदेषी हिमालयसम्म पानिढलोदषिन पूर्व गोर्षाको उत्तर पूर्व भोटको फेरि फलाम साधुको भोटचाकोसी र लिपिङ षोलो २ का दोभानदेषी लिपिङ खोलाका सीरको षराऱ्या पोषरिदेषी हिमालयसम्म ठाउंठाउंमा ढुंगाका थुप्रा लाया को छ. पानिढलोपश्चिम दषिन गोर्षाको उत्तर पश्चिम

भोटको येहि विहीरा वमोजिम दोहरा नक्साका कागजमा लाललकीरदेखी उभो भोटको लाललकीरदेखी उधो गोर्षाको भन्या वन्दोवस्त दुवै तर्फका वमोजिम तपसीलका भारादार वसि आजका मिति सम्वतमा येस सनदमा र दुवै तर्फका सिवानाका नक्साका सनदमा दुवै तर्फका भारादारले दुवै कागजमा सहिछाप गरि भोटतर्फले गोर्षा तर्फलाई दिन्यू सोई वमोजिम गोर्षाले भोटतर्फलाई दिन्यू यस सिवानामा अव उप्रांत गोर्षा भोटका छोटा वडा सवैले येहि थिति थामि जुगजुगसम्म झगडा तक्रार थिचोमिचो रतिभर नगर्नु नागरि अक्षर र भोटेया अक्षर भवाकाँ कागज र नक्साका सनदमा छाप लाई लिसुदिनु गर्यौ—

तपसील

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| कपतान् सताराम षत्रि— | १ |
| कप्तान् जवर कार्कि— | १ |
| डिट्ठा मानसरवर— | १ |
| भोटमुन्सी धिनरसि— | १ |

श्री भोटतर्फका भारादार

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| ढेवा हिजिन ताना— | १ |
| कारोवारि नाम्छ्याल् छेटेन्— | १ |
| दोभास्या कार्साङ— | १ |
| दोभास्या इस्पे— | १ |

साके १७७५ सम्वत् १९१० साल मिति श्रावण शुदि १ रोज ६ मुकाम षासा शुभम्—

स्वस्तिश्री ५ गोर्षा महाराजका हुकुमले वडा वजीर श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर यान कम्यांडर इन चीफ जनरल जङ्गवहादुर कुवर राणाजिका मर्जिले आयाका भारादार र श्री चीन भोट सर्कारका हुकुमले आयाका भारादारहरू षासा दोसाधमा वसि वन्दोवस्त गर्यौ—

उप्रान्त आजसम्म गोर्षा भोटका सांध सिवानामा वस्या प्रजा ग्रैहलाई येकातर्फवाट वलपन पक्षे गर्दा दोश्रा तर्फका रैयतहरू विपक्षका हुनाले वरोवर निसाफ नपाउदा सांह विनिसाफमा परि कराउथ्या अव उप्रान्त भोट तर्फवाट भोटमा षुन चोरी उपद्रव षत लागन्या कुरा गरि षतुकी भै भागी भोटवाट गोर्षाका अम्वलमा आयो भन्या तेस्तालाई भोटतर्फवाट फलानु विरा विजाइ गरि फलानु मानिस फलाना जगामा वस्याको छ तलास गरि पठाइदेउ भन्या लेषत आयो भन्या तेस्तालाई पक्रि जसाघाट लेषि आयो वहि सपुर्त गरि पठाइदिनु औ गोर्षातर्फवाट गोर्षामा षुन चोरी उपद्रव षत लागन्या कुरो गरि षतुकि भै गोर्खावाट भोटका अम्वलमा आयो भन्या तेस्तालाई पक्रि जतावाट लेखि आयाको छ उहि सपुर्द गरि पठाई दिनु औ भोट तरफका रैयतको र गोर्खा तरफका रैयतको सिवानाको र अरूको नै कुराको झैझगडा केहि परि आयो भन्या दोसाधमा २ तर्फका मानिस वसि पुर पक्षे गरि डंड जिताउरि जो पर्छ गोर्खाका रैयतको डंड जिताउरि गोर्षाले खानु भोटका रैयतको डंड जिताउरि भोटले खानु भन्या थिति वन्दोवस्त गरि छिर्यौ. येस थिति वन्दोवस्तमा सिवानामा रहन्या मानिस छोटा वडा रैयत ग्रैहले यो लेख्या वमोजिम नमानि लंघन गर्नामा जो पसला तेस्तालाई २ सर्कारवाट सजाय होला. येस वेहोरामा षतुकिहरूलाई आफ्ना आफ्ना जिल्लामा छंदाछदै दव उनामा जो पसला उसलाई डंड भारि सासना होला भन्या थितिको वन्दोवस्त गर्यौ ।—

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| कपतान् जवर कार्कि— | १ |
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दोभास्या कार्साङ — १
षासाको मिझार जिवधर — १
षासाको ह्लाप्चेन — १

साके १७७५ सम्वत् १९१० साल मिति श्रावण सुदि १ रोज ६ मुकाम षासा शुभम् —

येहि वेहोराको भोटया अक्षर पनि छ ।—

ह्लासाका मुतारिन् डाउतारिन अम्वा २ वाट श्री ५ गोर्खा सर्कारमा लेषि पठायाको नेवार र षांवाहरूको झगडामा २ षांवा र १ नेवार मन्याका कुरामा जिउको वदला जिउ भयो केहि तिर्नु पर्दैन. वाकि नेवारले दुई षाम्वा मान्याका कुरामा ८० टाक नेवारले दिनु देवताका स्थानमा येक हजार ठुलो दीप वालनु गुंवामा २ फेरा च्या षुवाउनु च्याको मोल ५० टाक दिनुपर्न्यामा पुर्नसिलाई पक्रि वाध्या पछि छचांदुवाल तमसुक फिराइ दिनुपर्छ. वाकि षांवाको झगडामा हरायाको टाक ४०४२।२।२ मध्ये नेवारले दिया को टाक १३२१।६ वाकि टाक १६१०।२ छचांदुवालाई दिउला भनि कवुल गन्या वाकि टाक २५५९।६ मा नेवारले आधा दिनु छचांदुवाले आधा सहनु अरू जिनिसिमालको मोलमा तिन षंडको एक षंड काला मोहर टाक २०० नेवारले छचांदुवालाई दिनु छचांदुवाले झगडा नगर्नु इ झगडा गर्न्या दुवै थरलाई धपाई दिनु भन्या वेहोरासंग झगडा छिनियो हांफोङ ३ सालका १२ महिनाका २७ दिन जांदा

श्री ५ गोर्खा सर्कारवाट ह्लासाका मुंतारिन् डाउतारिन अम्वा २ लाई लेषि गयाकां — नेवार र षांवालिको झगडा मा लेषि आयाकां वमोजिम वेहोरा सांचो हो भन्या वढिया निसाफ भयेछ तर हाम्रा नाइक्याले ह्लासाका हाकिमसंग फिर्याद गर्न जांदा तिमी दुवै थर हाम्रा प्रजा होइनौ ज्यामन् पर्छ सो गर भनि जवाव दिन्या हाकिमलाई निसाफले क्या ठहर्‍यो । येस्कुराको यो निसाफ भयो भनि केहि आयेन १९१० साल फागुन सुदि १० रोज—

क्रमशः

# सुदूर पश्चिमाञ्चल क्षेत्र अन्तर्गत जोरायल

— शङ्करमान राजवंशी

## १. सीमा

सुदूर पश्चिमाञ्चलको पाँचौं विकासक्षेत्र दीपायल–बाट करीब २८ माइल दक्षिण पश्चिममा जोरायल भन्ने ठाउँ छ । चारैतिर पर्वत शृङ्खला र बीचमा समतल मैदान पर्नाले उक्त जोरायलले उपत्यकाको रूप लिएको छ । यसको उत्तरतिर मुलायच पर्वत, पूर्वमा देउथला, दक्षिणमा बाँझिलेक र पश्चिममा खाइ गाउँ छन् । उत्तर दक्षिण ७ देखि ८ माइल र पूर्व पश्चिम ४ देखि ५ माइलसम्म फराकिलो छ ।

## २. पञ्चायत

यहाँ पहिले केवल सरस्वतीनगर नामक गाउँ पञ्चायत थियो । अहिले लक्ष्मीनगर नामक गाउँ पञ्चायत थपिएर जोरायललाई २ पञ्चायतमा विभाजन गरेको छ । तलातल गाउँदेखि तल नकु गाउँदेखि माथिको भागलाई लक्ष्मीनगर गाउँ पञ्चायत भनिन्छ । तलातल गाउँदेखि माथि चौडेथल जगतडीको फेदसम्म अर्थात् अल्यादी र डाडाखर्कदेखि तलको भागलाई सरस्वती नगर गाउँ पञ्चायत भनिन्छ ।

## ३. प्राकृतिक सम्पदा

चारैतिरको साना–ठूला पहाडहरूमा सल्ला वाँज कटुस गुराँस आदि ठूना खालका रूख र अन्य कतिपय मझौला खालका रूख तथा हरियाली घाँसपात आदि प्राकृतिक सम्पदाले जोरायल भरिपूर्ण छ । बीचमा खेतीयोग्य मैदान हुनाले जोरायलको दृश्य अति रमणीय देखिन्छ । यस क्षेत्रका प्रमुख स्थलहरूमा मुलायच, बाँझीलेक, जगाडी, मालिका, खाइगाउँ, घण्टेश्वर आदि हुन् । यस क्षेत्रको प्रमुख नदी कर्मनाशा छ जुन कर्मनाशा नदी जगतडी पर्वतको टापु हुँदै अविरल रूपले बगेको छ । त्यस नदीको प्रवाहले जोरायल क्षेत्रलाई सिञ्चित गर्नाले सो क्षेत्रको भूमि उर्वराशक्तिले पूर्ण छ ।

## ४. मौसम

जोरायलमा वर्षायाममा सालाखाला ६० देखि ७० इञ्चसम्म वर्षा हुन्छ । गर्मीमा तापमान ३० देखि ३५ डिग्री र जाडो याममा ० डिग्रीदेखि २० डिग्री सम्म रहन्छ । पर्साभचको समीपमा रहेको जगतडी लेकमा चौडेवाल, मुलायच आदि पर्वतश्रेणीमा हिउँदमा हिउँ पर्ने हुनाले ज्यादै जाडो हुन्छ ।

## ५. बस्ती र जनसंख्या

जोरायलको मैदानी उपत्यकामा भन्दा डाँडाको काखमा धेरै बस्ती बसेका छन् । त्यहाँको जनसंख्या नारी र पुरुष गरी ६००० छन् भन्ने कुरा सम्बन्धित गाउँ पञ्चायतको तथ्याङ्कबाट ज्ञात भएको छ ।

बस्ती बसेको ठाउँ –

१. चनकट्टे
२. रावतकट्टे
३. सिलिङ्गीवाग
४. कुडीकोट
५. खारखोला
६. वाँजीलेक
७. निगलतडा

रावतकट्टे भन्ने ठाउँमा कतिपय सरकारी कार्यालयहरू छन्। तिनमा वन विभाग, हुलाक, साझा संस्थान, प्रहरीचौकी, आयुर्वेदी औषधालय छन्। कुडिकोट भन्ने गाउँमा वि. सं. २०२६ देखि सा. मा. वि को स्थापना भइसकेको छ, जुन घण्टेश्वर सा. मा. वि. को नामले प्रख्यात छ।

## ६. बालीनाली

जोरायलको चनकट्टे रावतकट्टे सिलिङवाग खैर खोला भन्ने ठाउँहरूमा प्लट मिलेका फाँटहरू छन्। ती फाँटमा धान, जौ, गहुँ आदिका बाली लाग्छन्। वर्षको २ बाली गर्छन्। बालीमा कर्मनाश नदीबाट सिंचाइ हुन्छ।

## ७. पशुपंक्षी

जोरायलमा घरपालुवा पशु गाई, भैंसी, घोडा, बाख्रा, कुकुर, बिरालो आदि पाइन्छन्। जंगली पशु बाघ, भालु, स्याल, दुम्सी, खरायो, घोरल, बाँदर आदि पाइन्छन्। पंक्षीमा हाँस, कुखुरा, कौवा, गौथली, कालीज, तित्रा, ढुकुर, भंगेरा, चील, चमेरो, गिद्ध, बाज, कोकले, न्याउली, कोइली आदि पाइन्छन्।

## ८. जात्रा मेला

जोरायलको चनकट्टे भन्ने ठाउँमा चैत मसान्तमा बिसो मेला र फागुनमा शिवरात्रि मेला लाग्छ। सोलिङवाट भन्ने ठाउँमा कार्तिकमा दिवाली मेला लाग्छ। थली भन्ने ठाउँमा भाद्रमा गुफा केदार जाँतको मेला लाग्छ। घण्टेश्वर लेकमा भाद्रमा घण्टश्वर जाँतको मेला लाग्छ। दुर्गामाडौंमा जलदेवीको र पिनाके संगडामा पिनाकेश्वरको जाँत हुन्छ। द्यौवाज फलेनीमा महादेवको जाँत हुन्छ। बालीलेकवेलतडामा मालिकाको जाँत हुन्छ। जात्रालाई डोटेली भाषामा जाँत भन्दछन्।

## ९. देवमन्दिर

जोरायलमा चण्डेश्वर, पिनाकेश्वर, घण्टेश्वर, महादेव, गुल्मेश्वर, दुर्गा भगवती, मालिका आदि देवदेवीका मन्दिर छन्। तिनमा चण्डेश्वर, घण्टेश्वर, पिनाकेश्वरका मन्दिर जनश्रमदान र चन्दाबाट जीर्णोद्धार भएका छन्।

## १०. जोरायल र कर्मनाशबारे जनकथन

महाभारतकालमा जोरायल उपत्यका जलमग्न थियो। पञ्च पाण्डवहरू वनवास लागेपछि घुम्दै फिर्दै यस जोरायलको शिखरमा आउँदा तलाउ देखेर जलको निकास खोल्ने विचार गरी त्यस तलाउको पानीको निकास पठाउने ठाउँ पत्ता लगाई भीमसेनले त्यस ठाउँको पहाड काटी निकास खोलिदिए। सिलिङवाग भन्ने ठाउँमा जरासन्धको वासस्थान रहेछ। जलको निकास खोलिएर तलाउ सुकेको देखी जरासन्ध राक्षस क्रुद्ध भए। त्यस जरासन्ध राक्षसलाई भीमसेनले मारिदिए। त्यसको रगत बगेसम्मको भाग अशुद्ध हुनाले त्यति भागमा पर्ने नदीको नाम कर्मनाशा भएको र जरासन्धको मृत्यु भएको स्थल हुनाले उक्त स्थलको नाम डोटेली भाषाबाट जरायल भएको भन्ने जनकथन छ। अहिले त्यसैको अपभ्रंश रूप जोरायल भन्ने गरेको छ। जोरायलको गोगनेगाढ र टेपुनेगाढ मिलेर कर्मनाशा नदी बनेको छ। त्यो नदी गोल्लाकापलेसम्मलाई कर्मनाशा भन्ने गरेको छ।

## ११. स्थानीय नामसंग अनुश्रुतिको तुलना

जरासन्धको वध गरेपछि तिनको अंगका टुक्राहरू ठाउँ ठाउँमा गाडिदिए। डोटेली भाषाबाट टाउको गाडेको ठाउँलाई चानोकट्टे, ढाड गाडेको ठाउँलाई ढडकट्टे, कुइनो गाडेको ठाउँलाई कुमरेलो, नाक काटी गाडेको ठाउँलाई नकलगडो, गोडा काटी गाडेको ठाउँलाई गोल्ला भन्ने गरेको हो भनी जनमुखबाट सुनिन्छ। भीमले खड्ग प्रहार गर्दा ढुङ्गा २ टुका भएको भनी चटक्क छिनिएको ढुङ्गा मुड्भारा जाने बाटोमा छ। गुल्मेश्वर

भन्दा तलको पानीलाई पवित्र मानिने हुँदा त्यसलाई कर्मनाशा भनिदैन । कारण त्यहाँ भीमले पीठो मिची रोटी पकाएर खाएको भनी ढुङ्गामा घुंडा धसेको छाप र पीठो मिच्दाको मुड्कीको छाप लागेको आकारले जनमानसमा विश्वास परेको छ । जोरायलको हाट भन्ने ठाउँको चौतारोलाई द्रौपदी चौतारो भन्दछन् जुन चौतारोमा द्रौपदी बस्ने गरेको भन्ने मानिसहरूको धारणा छ ।

### १२. जोरायलको लक्ष्मीनगरबारे जनकथन

जोरायलमा सरस्वतीनगर तथा लक्ष्मीनगर भन्ने ठाउँ छन् । सरस्वती नगर विद्यालयको नाताले नाम रहेको भन्दछन् । लक्ष्मीनगरचाहिं लक्ष्मीवास भएको ठाउँ हुनाले उक्त नाम रहन गएको भन्दछन् जुन लक्ष्मीनगर भन्ने गाउँमा एउटा थुम्को छ । उक्त थुम्कोलाई धनराशको थुम्को भन्दछन् । एकदिन त्यस ठाउँमा धान थुपारी राख्दा कोशकीडो (कोशकोश भनी कराउने एकथरी चरो) घुसेछ । त्यो घुसेको हुनाले त्यो धानको राशबाट जति ओसारे पनि नसिद्धिने भयो । किनभने त्यो कोशकीडो जहाँ लक्ष्मी रहन्छ त्यहीं बस्छ। त्यसैले कोशकीडो बस्न आएमा लच्छिन हुन्छ भन्ने जनधारणा छ । कोशकीडो बस्न आएको हुनाले धानको राश जस्ताको तस्तो रहेपछि त्यो राशमा पछि कसैले आगो लगाइदिएछ । अनि त्यो कोश कीडो अर्को नजिकैको पिडालुको राशमा बस्न गएछ। अनि पिडालुको राश पनि जति झिके पनि नसिद्धिने भई जस्ताको तस्तो रहन थाल्यो । त्यसैले उक्त धान राशिको थुम्कोभन्दा अलि परको थुम्कोलाई पिडालु थुम्को भन्ने गर्छन् । उक्त धान राशको थुम्कोमा खन्दा धानको भुस निस्केका थिए भन्ने जनकथन छ । अहिले धानराश नामको थुम्कोलाई कर्मनाशको सिलसिलामा अपभ्रंशबाट धननाश भन्ने गरेको छ ।

### १३. जोरायलमा अवस्थित ऐतिहासिक वस्तु स्थल

जोरायल हाट भन्ने ठाउँमा प्राचीन मूर्ति रहेको छ जुन मूर्तिलाई स्थानीय मानिसहरूले मसान देवता भन्ने गर्छन् । त्यस देवताको दक्षिणपट्टि एउटा थुम्को छ जुन थुम्को त्यहाँको मसान देवता हो, जहाँ मूर्दा जलाइन्छ । उक्त मूर्तिलाई हेर्दा नृत्येश्वर महादेव जस्तो देखिन्छ । मसानको समीप हुनाले शायद महादेवकै मूर्ति हुनसक्छ । किनभने मसानमा एउटा महादेव पनि स्थापना गर्ने चलन छ । त्यसैले महादेवलाई मसान-वासी भनी पुराणादिमा उल्लेख गरेको पाइन्छ ।

जोरायल कुडिकोट भन्ने चौरमा एउटा प्राचीन चतुर्भुज नारायणको मूर्ति छ । त्यसदेखि माथि वोंडिङमा नाउलो छ । नाउलाको वरिपरि ढुङ्गामा कलात्मक बुट्टा कुँदेका छन् । सरस्वतीनगरमा प्राचीन शिव मन्दिर छ । त्यहाँ शिवरात्रिमा र वैशाख १ गते मेला लाग्छ । त्यसदिन विवाह, व्रतबन्धादि गर्ने पनि स्थानीय जनताको चलन छ । कर्मनाश नदीको पारी नकाल वडा गाउँको माथि करचेकोट छ । त्यहाँ पोखरी पनि छ । त्यहां पहिले माछा पालन गर्थे भन्ने स्थानीय जनताको भनाइ छ । माडी गाउँकोमाथि बलिकोट छ । सिलङ्गे वाग सतभारा गाउँको माथि डाँडामा पिपलकोट छ । सुगाल गाउँकोमाथि श्रीकोट र सिद्ध गुफा छन् । कोला गाउँको तल ठूलो कोट छ । त्यस कोटमा सुरुङ छ । उक्त सुरुङ पोखरीमा पानी लैजान बनेको भन्ने जनकथन छ । इत्यादि कुराबाट जोरायलमा प्राचीन राजधानी थियो भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ ।

### १४. जोरायल ऐतिहासिक एक निष्कर्ष

जोरायलको पूर्वपट्टि निरौली नामक गाउँ छ । उक्त गाउँमा निरयपाल नामक राजा बस्ने गर्दथे र त्यसैले उक्त गाउँको नाम निरौली भन्ने रहेको हो भनी श्री घण्टेश्वर सा० मा० वि० कुडिकोट जोरायलका शिक्षक निर्मलकुमार भण्डारीजीको भनाइ छ । यस कुरालाई विचार गर्दा ती निरयपालको राज्य डँडेलधुरा सम्म पुगेको थियो भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ । किनभने डँडेलधुरा अजयमेरकोटमा पाइएका कलात्मक खम्बा तथा ढुङ्गा र जोरायलमा रहेको ढुङ्गामा कुँदिएको कलात्मक बुट्टा उस्तै खालका छन् । अजयमेर कोटमा निरयपालको अभिलेख पनि पाइएको छ । तर जोरायलमा निरौली भन्ने गाउँको नाम मात्र पाइएको छ । स्थानीय जनधारणामा उक्त गाउँ निरयपालको भन्ने भएकोले अरू सामान नपाएसम्म जोरायलमा प्राप्त भग्नावशेषहरू निरयपालको समयका हुन् भन्ने एक निष्कर्ष आउन सक्छ ।

# ऐतिहासिक पत्र-स्तम्भ

स्वस्तिश्री गिरिराज चक्रचूडामणि नरनारायणे त्यादि विविध विरुदावली विराजमान मानोन्नत ओजस्वी राजन्य प्रोज्ज्वल नेपाल तारा अति ओजस्वी त्रिभुवन प्रजातन्त्र श्रीपद ओंरामपट्ट अतुल ज्योतिर्मय त्रिशक्तिपट्ट गोरखा दक्षिणबाहु महाधिपति फिल्ड मार्शल र सवोच्च कम्याण्डर इन चीफ श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्री महाराजा महेन्द्र वीर विक्रम जंगबहादुर शाह बहादुर शम्शेर जंग देवानाम सदा समर विजयिनाम्— आगे हाम्रो नेपाल अधिराज्य पल्लो किरातका लिम्बु किपटिया शैर के यथोचित तिमीहरूले अधिदेखि हाम्रो सरकारप्रति वफादार रही वखत वखतमा बहादुरी देखाई सोझो चिताइ देश सेवा गरेका कुरा हाम्रा हजुरमा जाहेर छ र हामीबाट सो कुराको दिलैदेखि कदर गरी वक्सेका छौं आफना पुरुखाहरूले गरेको वफादारी बहादुरी र देशप्रति गरेको सच्चा सेवालाई नपिसी अब उप्रान्त पनि सो कुरा महशूस गरी देशको यस कीर्तिलाई दिनपरदिन अटाउने हेतुले देशको अब हुने विकाशकार्यमा समेत तिमीहरू अग्रिजस्तै सफल हुनेछौं भन्ने पारखौ वक्सि थीति रीति कायम राखी वक्सेका छौं यो विकाश कार्यतर्फ पन्चायतबाट सक्रिय सहयोग हुनेनै छ र सरकार पनि कति प्रयत्नशील छ सो कुरा तिमीहरूबाट छिपेको छैन तिमीहरू बस्ने ठाउँ जिल्ला को समेत विकाश हुने काम तिमीहरूको आफनै हितको काम जानी यसमा पूरा ध्यान दिई सोझो चिताई थीति जानी भोग गर इति सम्वत् २०१७ साल चैत्र १७ गते रोज १ शुभम्—

सु. प्रेमबहादुर भावोहाङ धन कुटा मिकलुङ अध्यक्ष पल्लो किरात लिम्बुवान प्रतिनिधि मण्डलबाट प्राप्त

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS


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|---|---|
| Mr. Ramesh Raj Kunwor | – Lecturer, Kirtipur Campus, (Dept. of Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology), T. U., Nepal. |
| Mr. Poorna Prakash Nepal 'Yatri' | – Research Scholar, Nepal. |
| Mr. Shankar Man Rajvanshi | – Editor, National Archives (Dept. of Archaeology), H. M. G., Nepal. |

'प्राचीन नेपाल' का निमित्त प्राग्–इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, मूर्तत्वशास्त्र, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तथा प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिनेछ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनुपर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो ।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्त्व विभाग
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काठमाडौं, नेपाल

Contribution of original nature dealing with pre-historic and field-archaeology, epigraphy manuscripts, numismatics, archives, art, anthropology and architecture of Nepal and museum and other techniques connected with various aspects of our work are invited to 'Ancient Nepal'.

The contribution should be concise and well documented, and based on hitherto unpublished data, if not new interpretation of already known evidence.

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The Director General
Department of Archaeology
Ramshahpath
Kathmandu, Nepal.